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ABSTRACT

This document consists of a literature review and the description of a field study undertaken as part of a pilot research project focusing on improving education in desegregated public schools. The review documents the organization and successful programmatic strategies of school integration. Findings are presented in terms of administrative and governance considerations, staff development considerations, and teaching/learning considerations. An extensive bibliography is included. A field study which investigated successful integration strategies used by selected school districts in Texas is detailed. Historic, demographic, and legal factors are outlined. Interviews conducted during the field study indicate that successful desegregation strategies fall into four major areas: (1) support; (2) human relations training; (3) academic skill development; and (4) social skill development. The field study also examined the extent to which students and staff of different ethnic groups learned to accept and value ethnic diversity within the Austin schools. (Author/AM)

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FINAL REPORT FOR
NOVEMBER 1, 1977 TO MAY 31, 1978

PROJECT:
WAYS TO IMPROVE EDUCATION
IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS (WIEDS)

MICROFICHE ONLY
Lois Bebout

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AUSTIN, TEXAS 78701

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LITERATURE REVIEW REPORT
WIEDS PROJECT

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April 1978

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WIEDS LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Close to a quarter century after the Brown decision and more than a decade after initiation of desegregation suits all over the country, desegregation of schools is now seen as a process initiated primarily by courts, federal or state agencies. Clearly, decisions concerning desegregation are not made in a political and social vacuum. Local and national conflicts and consensus help determine the particular direction judicial and governing bodies will take when they decide that school systems will be desegregated. But as far as school personnel go, the desegregation process begins in a legal context with some judicial or governmental action. Once judicial or governmental action occurs, school districts respond with proposed desegregation plans.

The central office level of a school district is the first point to be impacted by a court or governmental decision. Central office personnel begin to plan ways of moving students and/or faculty from campus to campus in order to establish or maintain quotas and goals which satisfy court requirements. This planning results in organizational strategies. Throughout these planning stages and especially at the time of implementation, central office personnel must increase communication with the various parties affected by desegregation.

When school districts implement their organizational strategies, certain problems arise and needs are documented. Then, central office personnel choose or develop programmatic strategies to eliminate these needs or to address these problems. For instance, programmatic strategies

for teachers are focused on staff development programs and curriculum changes. In regard to students, these strategies are directed toward curriculum changes in the areas of basic skills and human relations. Additionally, there are extracurricular programs developed to meet student needs.

The second level of the district to be impacted by the court or governmental decision is at the school building or principal level. Principals, like central office personnel, are involved with organizational strategies designed to reorganize students and faculty. They are called upon to communicate their strategies and problems to parents of their students. Furthermore, these building administrators are involved in programmatic strategies which are either adaptations of central office strategies or are initiated at the building level. Generally, these programmatic strategies can be grouped in the same categories as those in the central office, except that the area of instructional management is added to address behavior needs.

The third level impacted by desegregation orders is that of the classroom teachers. While the central office decisions (strategies) flow down to the principal level, the classroom teachers often act independently, so that there are both teacher-initiated and principal-initiated programs. The teachers' reactions follow the general classifications of organization strategies, i.e., instructional strategies.

Once desegregation plans have been developed by the district, they are submitted to the source of action for approval. When the district receives approval of the desegregation plans, district personnel (central office, principals, and teachers) begin initiating the implementation of the approved plans.

Following implementation, assessment activities are conducted internally and externally to determine the success of the desegregation plans. Assessment also serves to identify and describe the effects of desegregation on the community, the students, and the school staff. This is the last step in the WIEDS model of the desegregation process.

The judicial/legal action, federal/state/local action, and the effects of desegregation have been well documented in previous research efforts. The reader is referred to Weinberg (1977) and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1969 and 1977) for a discussion of the legal history, and to Weinberg (1977), St. John (1975), Pettigrew, et al. (1973), Armor (1972), and Coleman (1966) for discussions of desegregation effects. However, little literature exists in regard to successful strategies used by central office personnel, principals, and classroom teachers to ensure that the desegregation process will be effective. Furthermore, what literature exists is primarily at the central office and principal levels, since these levels are the most apt to be writing about themselves. The voice of the classroom teacher is very faint.

The WIEDS literature review has confined itself to the documentation of the organization and programmatic strategies at three levels: central office personnel, principals, and classroom teachers. WIEDS has not concerned itself with the effect of desegregation on the community, although this is a very real and important aspect of desegregation. See Figure 1 for the WIEDS conceptual model of the desegregation process in education, which presents the above narrative in outline form.

The remainder of this document presents the findings of the WIEDS literature review. Topics are sequenced as follows:

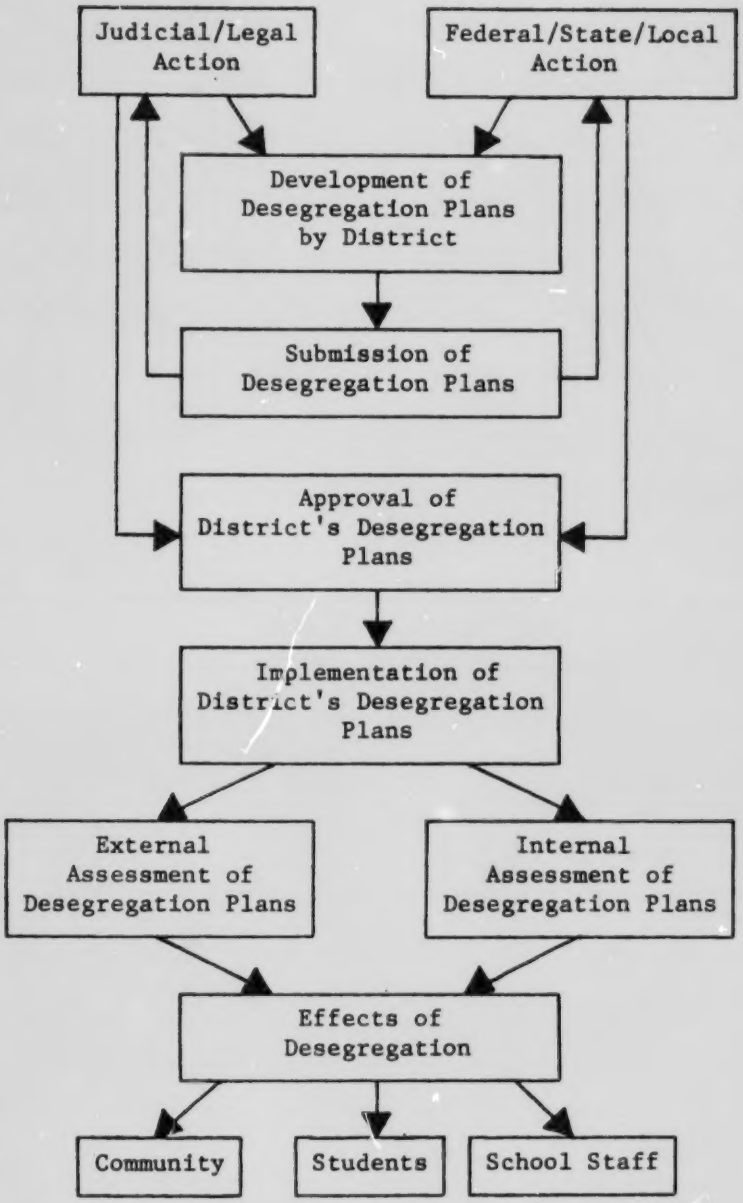
- Administrative/Governance Considerations

- Staff Development Considerations
- Teaching/Learning Considerations

Appendix A contains a brief outline of the process that the project staff followed in regard to completing the literature review. Appendix B contains the bibliography of the literature covered during this phase of the project.

FIGURE 1

WIEDS MODEL OF THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS*



* This conceptual model is based on the synthesis of findings resulting from WIEDS review of literature and on-site interviews in Phase One (November 1, 1977 to May 31, 1978).

Administrative/Governance Considerations

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977) conducted a national survey of 1292 school superintendents, representing 47% of all school districts in the country having at least 5% minority enrollment and total student enrollment of 1500 or more. They distinguished three types of interventions as pressures for school districts to initiate steps toward desegregation. The first category, "local pressure," refers to activities by local school officials, state boards of education, local civil rights groups, or other locally initiated activities urging desegregation. Approximately 20% of the superintendents surveyed reported that their districts' desegregation efforts were responses to local pressures. Fourteen percent of the superintendents reported that their school districts' desegregation efforts had been prompted by HEW investigations (second category) and the resulting threat of fund withdrawals. Superintendents in 20% of the districts surveyed reported that desegregation was a result of court orders (third category) brought about by suits initiated by local citizen groups. The remaining 46% of the districts surveyed had either already desegregated before 1966 or had taken no substantial steps to desegregate during the ten year period following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which was the focus of this report.

Given the social significance of this problem and the implications it bears for the future of education, an analysis of the different types of strategies utilized by school districts and communities can be useful as an aide for school districts to develop guidelines in their desegregation efforts. However, desegregation does not occur in a vacuum. Just as there exist different types of pressures to which school districts respond with desegregation efforts, the many strategies utilized by dis-

tricts are also a result of many community and school district variables. The appropriateness of any given strategy for a particular district will be determined by the political and organizational constraints existing within a school district and the community. With this in mind, the following review will present some of the more viable strategies which have been employed to successfully desegregate public schools and suggest demographic characteristics which are related to success of the strategies.

Success or failure of the desegregation process in a school district is dependent on three intervals of events: 1) events occurring before pressure is received, 2) events while negotiations are occurring, and 3) events after district and community acquiesce to local, state, or federal pressures to desegregate. A number of factors tend to determine what is done and what is attempted during each of these intervals, i.e., community involvement, parental support, school board composition, and commitment of superintendent and administrators. Total participation of these groups in the planning phase increases the chances for cooperation in the desegregation process. Research indicates that court mandates are received most favorably in situations where some events have occurred beforehand to establish more than superficial relationships among the ethnic groups in any community (Crain, 1977; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Also, once a court order has been received, the school board and school administration have the most influential effect on community reaction and cooperation relative to compliance with the law (Crain, 1968; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Strategies for compliance with the law (racial balance, adoption of multicultural curriculum materials, human relations training, etc.) are dependent on these school/community relationships.

Resistance to desegregation may have a different rationale depending upon the section of the country. In the South, cultural values founded in discriminatory beliefs historically have had legal support and confirmation. In the North, resistance to desegregation may be founded in beliefs that because "...the law never required segregation, existing separation is not illegal. Believing that their segregation is legally acceptable, northern officials may be quite reluctant to desegregate" (Bullock and Rogers, 1975, pp. 656-657).

Once a school district and community receive pressures to desegregate, different district reactions may occur depending on prior activities and commitments. If the district has been actively attempting to desegregate prior to governmental pressure, the community and the district may regard desegregation pressure as unfair. On the other hand, if educational inequities have been acknowledged and commitments made to rectify them, some districts are less resistant to pressures and view them as admonishments to increase their efforts. If the district has not been actively involved in activities to desegregate before outside pressure is applied, the reaction of the district and community is usually hostile and resentful.

Once a decision is made to comply with the demands of desegregation pressures, the first district actions are usually 1) to establish a committee or committees (comprised of school and community personnel) to outline the most feasible method(s) for complying with the order, and 2) to establish and articulate a formal district policy statement regarding the order and desegregation (Crain, 1977 and 1968; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Most often, the district's statement is a reflection of the school board's attitude toward pressures to

desegregate which in turn is representative of the community's attitude as a whole. The establishment of school and/or community committees represents an effort by the school board and the district to acquire input from groups to be most affected by desegregation activities and responsible for ensuring the successful implementation of any developed plan. This is an important first step since several case studies have indicated that those districts which adopted a formal policy supporting desegregation and whose superintendents vocally supported federal pressures to desegregate were more successful in their desegregation efforts than those who did not (Crain, 1968). Furthermore, it appears that districts heeding the results of planning committees desegregated with greater ease and less community and staff resentment than districts which establish an arbitrary method of desegregation (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). The end result of this planning interval is the adoption of a desegregation plan for complying with federal and local demands.

The ethnic and class composition of school boards is an important factor that contributes to the success or failure of the desegregation process (Crain, 1968 and 1977). Homogeneous school boards seem to facilitate desegregation while heterogeneous boards tend to inhibit the process. Apparently, heterogeneously composed boards are unable to reach consensus on a consistent basis. In addition, school boards composed of "civic elite" or "founding father" types tend to desegregate more easily than boards composed of a "political elite." It appears that the political elite are more vulnerable to the emotional whims of their constituency and tend to polarize quickly on controversial issues.

Organization Strategies

Once the desegregation plan has been developed and adopted, the desegregation process moves into the interval of plan implementation. The following organizational strategies have been identified by Foster (1973) as being the most widely adopted:

- Redrawing of zone lines
- Skip-zoning
- Site selection and construction
- Pairing and grouping of schools
- Modified feeder plans
- Optional zones
- Open enrollment
- Majority to minority transfers
- Magnet schools
- Special programs
- Metro Coop (urban-suburban exchange)
- Open housing

Each of these organizational strategies makes different demands on the community and the school district. Accordingly, each strategy has its own advantages and disadvantages. The similarities of these organizational strategies deal directly with the affective processes concerned with genuine acceptance and support for the desegregation plan and the broader humanitarian issues on which the court orders are based. The differences in the strategies exist mainly in the procedures to achieve racial balance in the school district.

In the following paragraphs, citations related to specific strategies will be identified by school district. The U. S. Commission on Civil

Rights conducted, via regional office personnel, case studies of several different school districts around the U. S. and these districts represent the sources for specific strategies identified. A complete citation for each case study is presented in Appendix B of this document.

To ease the reassignment of teachers and pupils, some districts allow teachers to transfer with their pupils to their new schools in the desegregation process (Kalamazoo, Michigan). Another strategy to ease teacher resentment over reassignment is to encourage voluntary participation as much as possible (Williamsburg County, South Carolina). Some districts developed and maintain an on-going communication process with teachers before, during, and after reassignments in the form of written communications (Erie, Pennsylvania).

Strategies for staff integration and for preparing staff for integrated classrooms include:

- Teacher human relations training (Erie, Pennsylvania; Racine, Wisconsin; Nashville, Tennessee; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Wichita, Kansas; Ogden, Utah; Waterloo, Iowa; Santa Barbara, California; and Minneapolis, Minnesota.)
- Providing forums for teachers (Williamsburg County, South Carolina)
- Giving teachers university credit for obtaining multi-cultural training (Ogden, Utah)
- Staff training in the development of multi-ethnic curriculum materials (Waterloo, Iowa; Kalamazoo, Michigan; and Santa Barbara, California)
- Increasing efforts to hire minorities (Peoria, Illinois; Berkeley, California)
- Giving courses in multi-racial and multi-ethnic history and

culture (Nashville, Tennessee)

- Creating bi-racial administrative advisory teams in each school (Principal and vice-principal of different races) (Little Rock, Arkansas)
- Establisning dialogue for teachers being transferred with teachers previously transferred (Tulsa, Oklahoma)

Communication Strategies

The initial effort of a district, following the adoption of a plan, is to gain parental and community support and cooperation with the implementation of the plan. A number of strategies have been designed and employed to accomplish this goal.

1. Using the media to convince parents and the community of the necessity for desegregation and to demonstrate the values of desegregation (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). This is best accomplished by favorable reporting of desegregation by the local news media, publication and distribution of pro-desegregation brochures by the school district and concerned organizations (Wichita, Kansas) and by businesses buying advertising time in support of desegregation (Waterloo, Iowa).
2. Making direct contacts with representatives of the community. The following strategies were specified:
   - Using community liaison workers to serve as links between the schools and the community (Ogden, Utah; Wichita, Kansas)
   - Encouraging business, religious, and political leaders to appeal to their clientele and constituencies (Waterloo, Iowa; Kalamazoo, Michigan)
   - Creating citizen advisory committees to assist in plan

implementation (Wichita, Kansas; Ogden, Utah; Waterloo, Iowa; Peoria, Illinois; Kalamazoo, Michigan; and Santa Barbara, California)

- Converting schools (closed as result of desegregation) into community centers to minimize community's feeling of loss (Erie, Pennsylvania)
- Conducting public forums with parents and other community members to explain the procedures of plan implementation (Ogden, Utah; Williamsburg County, South Carolina; Kalamazoo, Michigan)

3. Easing parental concerns and encouraging parents to participate in the actual implementation of the desegregation plan (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976). Several methods for attaining this involvement are:
   - Using written communication to explain reassignment of children (Erie, Pennsylvania)
   - Creating parental complaint centers to establish lines of communication with parental groups and the school board (Ogden, Utah; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Erie, Pennsylvania)
   - Creating hotline systems staffed by parent volunteers to provide information regarding plan and transportation procedures (Tempe, Arizona; Kalamazoo, Michigan)
   - Providing human relations training to parents (Nashville, Tennessee)
   - Hiring parents as aides to work in the schools (Tempe, Arizona)
   - Allowing parents to ride buses as monitors (when busing

is employed) (Tempe, Arizona)

- Using parent volunteers to establish information centers along bus routes (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Using PTA groups to monitor and supervise the initial implementation of new bus schedules and playground activities (Santa Barbara, California)
- Using PTA groups to coordinate bus "dry runs" to familiarize parents with the busing process (Santa Barbara, California)
- Using PTA groups to coordinate school open house activities prior to school opening (Santa Barbara, California)
- Developing safe walking routes and hiring additional guards (Wichita, Kansas)
- Providing human relations training for bus drivers (Nashville, Tennessee)

Other factors germane to successful plan implementation are the support and use of law enforcement agencies and the establishment of open lines of communication among parents, schools, and law enforcement agencies (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976).

Programmatic Strategies

Although the minimization of parental and community resentment toward desegregation is critical to successful plan implementation, reorganization of the schools themselves is the major task facing administrators. Program strategies adopted by school systems to meet the needs of a desegregated student body include:

- Creating human relations councils in each school (Tulsa, Oklahoma)

- Including multi-cultural classroom materials in the curriculum (Tulsa, Oklahoma; Ogden, Utah; Peoria, Illinois; Wichita, Kansas; Williamsburg County, South Carolina; Minneapolis, Minnesota)
- Instituting new teaching systems focused on individual achievement (thus minimizing cultural differences in achievement levels) (Williamsburg County, South Carolina; Santa Barbara, California; Tulsa, Oklahoma)
- Developing remedial programs (in basic skill areas) (Ogden, Utah; Waterloo, Iowa; Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Developing a set of priorities, at the district level, which commit teachers and schools to increasing student achievement and inter-ethnic relations (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Instituting compensatory education programs (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976)
- Relocating special education programs to best serve newly acquired population of integrated schools (Wichita, Kansas)
- Creating special facilities and policies to address disciplinary problems (Wichita, Kansas)

Training of teachers and administrators is accomplished by requiring or encouraging personnel to participate in workshops, inservice activities, and university classes concerned with interethnic relations, minority issues in education, the value and use of multi-cultural materials in the classroom, and the history and processes involved in desegregation.

To facilitate rapport among parents, administrators and students of newly desegregated schools, some districts initiated procedures for

parental consultation with principals and teachers (Erie, Pennsylvania), conducted a series of open house activities (Kalamazoo, Michigan), and provided intensive training for counseling and other support personnel for communicating with minority group populations (Wichita, Kansas).

To enhance intergroup relations among students and to increase the ease with which student transfers were conducted, the following strategies were utilized:

- Assigning special counseling staff to each school (Tulsa, Oklahoma; Wichita, Kansas)
- Using student volunteers in the desegregation process (Wichita, Kansas)
- Establishing racially-balanced classroom assignments (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Increasing minority participation in extracurricular activities (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Developing social activities for parents, students, and teachers (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Recruiting minority students for accelerated classes (Kalamazoo, Michigan)
- Informing students of desegregation via meetings and discussions with teachers, parents, and school officials (Williamsburg County, South Carolina; Wichita, Kansas; Ogden, Utah)
- Providing human relations training for students (Wichita, Kansas; Nashville, Tennessee)
- Creating volunteer student tutorial corps (Tulsa, Oklahoma)

Relative to faculty, student and administrator conflicts, school districts frequently create some type of human relations team which

operates from the central office (Wichita, Kansas and Santa Barbara, California). Also, a desegregation expert may be employed to monitor and assist with organizational adjustments within the district once the plan has been implemented (Santa Barbara, California and Waterloo, Iowa).

Conclusion

Several issues relating to the process of desegregation in any school district may be highlighted. The initial concerns of a community and school district in the desegregation process are politically motivated. Educational issues are considered only in the context of their feasibility or acceptability given a certain community attitude toward desegregation. Educational efficiency is sometimes sacrificed during the early stages of desegregation in order to initiate the process itself. Once the process has been initiated and resistance diminishes, educational issues assume a priority over political concerns. At this point, issues related to the education of different populations of children may be addressed in more constructive ways. The critical issue in desegregation becomes how to meet the educational needs of individual children in a multi-ethnic setting rather than finding the most effective and least disagreeable method of eliminating segregated educational institutions.

Staff Development Considerations

In regard to WIEDS Model of the Desegregation Process (see Figure 1), staff development efforts can be initiated either at the development step or the implementation step. Inservice or preservice workshops and training programs are the usual forms taken by staff development efforts. Frequently, resource personnel from outside the school system

are called upon to design or contribute to staff development programs. Robinson and Preston (1976) indicated that inservice training institutes for school teachers have been used all over the United States as means for promoting desegregation, especially in the South. Such institutes are planned at least on tacit acceptance of the contact hypothesis, i.e., contact fosters positive attitude change.

The review of staff development literature indicated three purposes or reasons for conducting staff development efforts:

1. To improve staff relations by providing equal status contact (Robinson and Preston, 1976).
2. To improve organizational characteristics of a reconstituted school by training staff in communication and problem-solving skills (Gentry and Watkins, 1974).
3. To improve instruction in interracial classrooms (Chesler, 1971).

Workshop Design Model

Based on results generated from a study by Mosley and Flaxman (1972), a general model for workshop design can be abstracted. This general model consists of seven steps: 1) participants, 2) goals, 3) objectives, 4) content, 5) program, 6) evaluation, and 7) outcomes.

The first step in designing staff development workshops is to identify the target population. The workshop goals are defined based on the needs assessment of the participants. These goals are then elaborated by specifying workshop objectives (King, 1977; Grand Valley State College, 1973). One specific workshop report conducted at Ohio University recommended that a needs assessment be conducted at three levels: contacts directly with teachers, contacts with instructional

leaders in the school district, and classroom observation (Mangieri and McWilliams, 1976). Mosley and Flaxman have found that in planning a workshop, the most critical factor is the specification of realistic objectives that are achievable within the time and circumstances decreed for the workshop. Workshop planners must ascertain what outcomes are desired, then base the workshops on those desired outcomes.

After defining the objectives to be attained at workshops, the content areas of each session are then identified. Mosley and Flaxman have concluded that in deciding what objectives and content areas are to be addressed, care should be taken that they reflect the needs of the participants, not just be planned in the minds of the organizers and "benevolently imposed" on the participants, as was most often done. Also, there should be a clear and appropriate program design, in terms of time, participants, and strategies, to ensure attainment of the objectives. What should be kept in mind here is the flow of the workshop development: the participants are identified, then goals and objectives are defined, then the program (time, strategies, participants) is determined. Too often the mechanics of a workshop are formed, then the objectives are fitted around them. This will lead to workshops that are not meaningful to the participants.

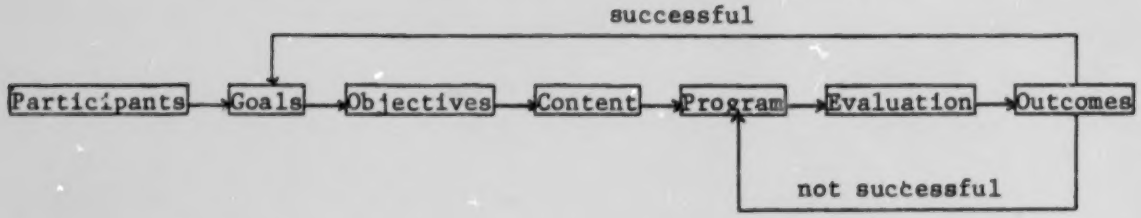
The next step in the development of a general model for workshop design is evaluation. A full evaluation should include participant reactions, progress toward achieving objectives, strengths and weaknesses of workshop procedure and design, and evaluation of workshop staff.

The final step in the design is outcomes; where a decision point is located. If it is determined that the workshop has been successful in achieving the goals that were stated in the beginning, then the planners

return to the second step, defining goals, and have the option to start the process over with new goals to address other needs. If it is determined that the goals have not been attained, then a feedback loop is implemented which returns to the program stage for modification, revision, etc. The design model is schematically represented in Figure 2:

FIGURE 2

WORKSHOP DESIGN MODEL



Teacher and Administrator Models

The components (minus "participants") of the general model for workshop design may serve as headings for the more specific teacher and administrator workshop models. These components (Goals, Objectives, Content, Program, Evaluation, and Outcomes) are represented in Figure 3 (Teacher Workshop Model) and Figure 4 (Administrator Workshop Model). The goals of these types of workshops are desired teacher and administrator changes. These changes are represented in the objective component as cognitive change and affective change. Content areas, for the teacher model, fall under the categories of racial-cultural curriculum innovation, upgrading of teaching skills, racial-cultural understanding, and improved interpersonal relationships. In regard to the administrator model, categories of content are racial-cultural curriculum innovation, organizational patterns, community involvement, racial-cultural under-

FIGURE 3

TEACHER WORKSHOP MODEL

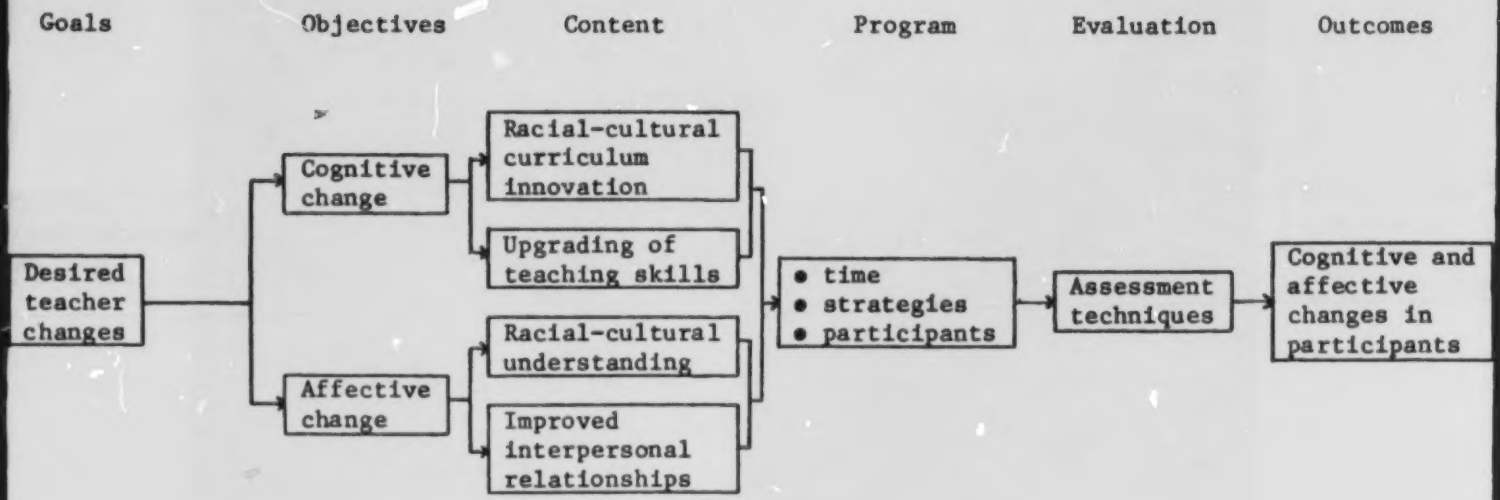
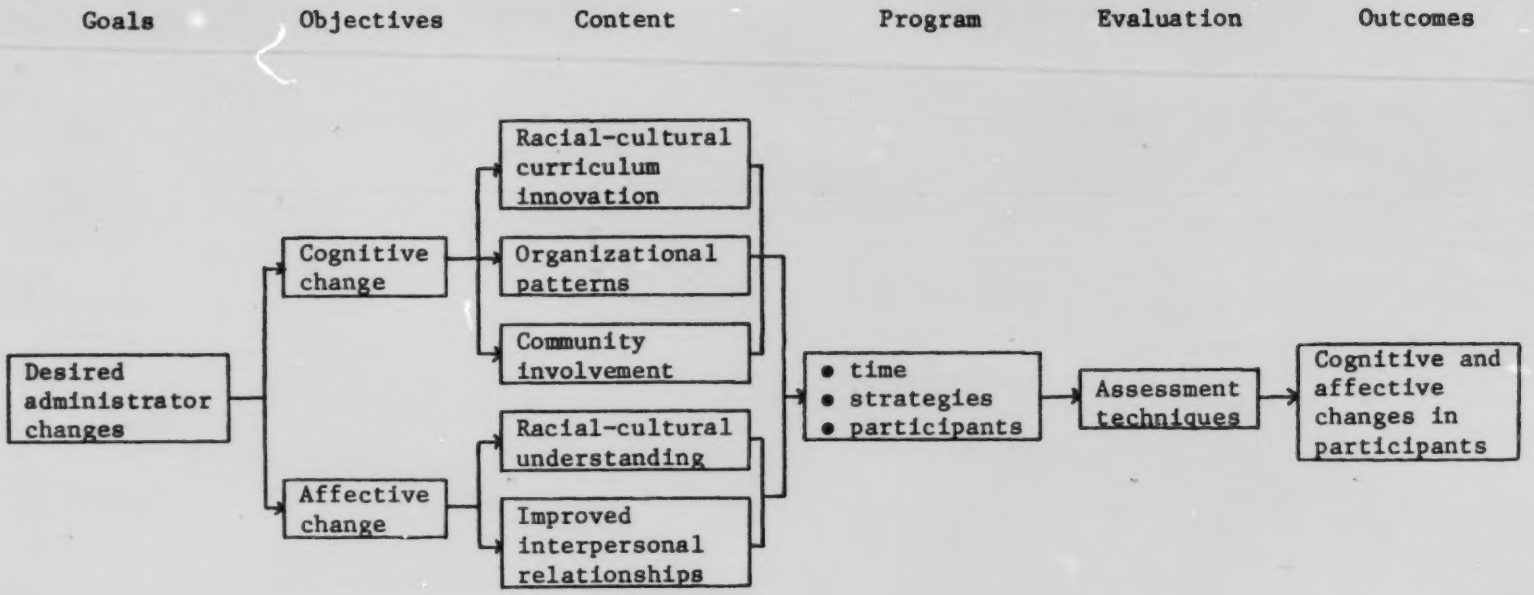


FIGURE 4

ADMINISTRATOR WORKSHOP MODEL



standing, and improved interpersonal relationships.

Program implementation (time, strategies, and participants) is relative to the needs and discretion of the school district. Workshops may encompass anything from one-day meetings to monthly sessions to a two-week institute at a local college or university. The time sequence must be sufficient to carry out the goals of the workshop (Mosley and Flaxman, 1972). Participation may range from only teachers to teachers with principals, vice-principals, counselors, superintendents, school board members, students and community people. Relative to the strategies used, the most frequently used learning activities are lecture and small group discussions. A review of the literature indicated a myriad of techniques was being used, e.g., speakers, small and large group discussions, films, reading materials, field trips, encounter groups, and role-playing.

The last two steps in both models are evaluation and outcomes. In those workshop reports expressing the use of evaluation techniques, behavioral outcomes may be divided into two categories, cognitive and affective, the same as the two categories in the objectives and content steps. Three methods of evaluation are used to assess cognitive behavior: 1) paper and pencil test, 2) interview, and 3) direct observation. In terms of affective behavior changes, the following evaluation techniques are recommended: 1) attitude scales, 2) observation with narrative report, 3) demonstration teaching with group evaluation, and 4) videotaping of the workshop. The major problem, though, is the unavailability of a systematic plan of feedback and modification in the "real world" teaching or administrative situation. Unless the school supports and reinforces the workshop learning, sending individuals to workshops for a

period of time simply does not bring about the desired behavior change--the school as well as the learner has to be willing to change.

Workshop Topics

Chesler (1971) has identified several topic areas that need to be addressed in workshop settings to further enhance a school district's desegregation efforts:

- Teachers' knowledge of students through review of different cultural styles in students' families and the accumulation of data regarding the current attitudes and values of students toward self, school, peers, teachers, racial issues, etc.
- Teachers' personal feelings through self-examination of each individual's values about racially potent matters.
- Teaching practices by translacing theoretical propositions, research findings, or new insights about oneself into behavioral implications relevant for the classroom.
- Relationships with professional peers by providing opportunity to share creative ideas with fellow teachers.
- Roles of principals and superintendents for facilitating and supporting teacher changes to improve classroom racial relations.
- Community relations by teachers knowing how youngsters can change apart from related change in their social surroundings.

These topics can best be implemented by using the following training strategies:

- The traditional strategy most frequently relied upon for increasing educators' skills involves new written materials

used as reference guides.

- Films, photographs, and recordings are used for retraining teachers and they should be accompanied by some kind of discussion or practice.
- The use of laboratory training methods, particularly sensitivity training groups, is another valuable method. (Common to all such groups is the members' attempts to give and receive feedback with peers and to consider making changes in their own interpersonal styles through an analysis of what they feel and see occurring in their small groups.)
- Role playing and skill practice exercises are among those techniques used in more comprehensive efforts to help people achieve change.
- Feedback survey results involve collecting data about the performance or processes of a client system and then feeding back those data with interpretations into the client system. (The assumption with this strategy is that persons who see their own performance data may be able to make changes in a direction more advantageous to the system.)
- Peer sharing or the opportunity for productive sharing of views and practices may encourage teacher change.
- A corollary to the encouragement of peer-sharing processes is the formation of small groups or teams that have some formal professional responsibility, i.e., diagnosing organizational problems, making decisions regarding school racial policies, planning parent-school meetings, etc.
- Another useful training strategy is the use of personal or

organizational systems of problem-solving using an empirical-rational approach (identify classroom problems, diagnose classroom problems, develop a plan, take action, obtain feedback, and provide evaluation).

Chesler indicated that many of the educational change strategies described have been tried and reported without benefit of clear research on their actual effects.

Conclusions

Inservice and preservice workshops provide a forum wherein participants can learn new attitudes and behaviors, adapt new organizational structures, or elaborate new curriculum and teaching methods. When a school system undergoes desegregation, most likely all of these changes will be found necessary. While a good deal of literature exists to describe inservice workshops that have taken place and prescribe models for the process, little follow-up, particularly over the long term, has been conducted. How are the changes incorporated into schools when participants return to their classrooms and offices? While participants and trainers tend to conscientiously evaluate the workshop experience itself, we know little about whether that experience is built upon or negated by other sorts of problems that arise after participants leave the workshops.

This conclusion from the literature review suggests that there are, as yet, no long term and wholistic descriptions of where and how staff development activities fit into the entire desegregation process.

Teaching/Learning Considerations

When desegregation is implemented within schools and students begin to attend classes, teachers confront a set of problems which may seem

entirely new and different. A heterogeneous group of students sit side by side awaiting their chance for "equal educational opportunity." The particular makeup of the heterogeneous group varies from region to region, from neighborhood to neighborhood, and from classroom to classroom. More likely than not, there are more cultural and class differences represented by the students than indicated by their ethnic designations for desegregation purposes. In a critique of oversimplified versions of "Cultural difference," Valentine (1971) points out that there is no homogeneous "Negro culture." In one urban community, he identified some 14 different Afro-American subgroups with more or less distinct cultures, as well as nine other non-Afro ethnic groups.

Before teachers choose among instructional and organizational strategies, they first come to terms with their own understandings of group differences. Chesler (1971) calls attention to the most important point distinguishing interracial teaching assignments from other teaching assignments:

> Since the cultural heritage and reality of mutual ignorance and distance--if not antagonism and fear--between the races probably are present in the minds and views of all Americans, the teacher must wrestle with his or her own preconceived views of people of another race (p. 614).

While many teachers may choose to ignore differences, claiming that equal treatment means blinding oneself to color, culture, and class, the case for cultural pluralism in the schools has won acclaim as the only humane way a pluralistic society can educate its young. Deslonde and Flach (1972) have described one case in which reluctant teachers were won over to acceptance of cultural pluralism.

When teachers have examined their own attitudes and behavior, and checked to see if the type and quantity of their interactions with

students, particularly disciplinary and reinforcement practices are non-discriminatory, they they can begin to develop more formal concepts and strategies to teach in an ethnically heterogeneous class.

Concepts

Cultural Difference

Social scientists have described cultural differences in the classroom in terms of different cognitive styles, different nonverbal communications, and different peer orientations, as well as the more obvious differences in language and history. Lesser et al. (1965) suggested that cultures depend differentially on the several learning modes through which human beings acquire and process information: verbal-auditory, visual-spatial, and sensory-motor. Such a concept implies the need for a variety of instructional experiences provided in a multi-ethnic classroom.

Cornelius Grove (1976) drew on the abundant theoretical literature on non-verbal communication to point out intercultural communication problems arising from desegregation. Since many non-verbal messages are both culturally unique and unconscious, misunderstandings can occur due to mistaken assignment of meaning to gestures, looks, body stance, conversational distances, and other non-linguistic communications. While neither teachers nor students can be expected to change their own non-verbal behavior to any considerable degree, awareness of the non-verbal level of interpersonal engagement can at least minimize misunderstandings.

Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) suggested that different peer orientations distinguish ethnic groups. Some groups expect peer group solidarity while others are motivated by individual competition. In such a classroom, a teacher should consider a variety of motivational strategies to

tap the predisposition of his/her students.

While these theoretical propositions indicate that teachers should be sensitive to behaviors unique to particular cultural groups, they also pose a dilemma. Reduction of cultural differences to a series of stereotypes which ignore the variability within an ethnic group and underestimate the commonalities in all human behavior runs the risk of reproducing discriminatory attitudes among teachers and students. Understanding the concept of ethnic boundary can counter the tendency for cultural differences to be perceived as simple, stereotypical contrasts between groups.

Ethnic Boundary

Frederick Barth (1969) stressed that inter-ethnic relations were determined less by the exchange and merging of the contents of two cultural systems than by the frequently distorted perceptions and attributions one group has of another. Symbols of group identity are both imposed by an out-group and expressed by the in-group. The symbols are negotiated and a boundary between the groups is created and maintained. The set of symbols which constitute the boundary may have very little to do with the actual behaviors of people in each group, but they function to distinguish "us from them."

Gretchen Schafft (1977) used this concept to analyze an urban school where white children were in the minority and black children in the majority. She found a number of territorial expressions of ethnic boundaries: preferred seating arrangements, exclusive hallway turfs, and differential control over areas of the school grounds. Schafft suggested that both white and black children experience stigmas associated with their color and act out ways vis-a-vis the other group to avoid or

overcome their sense of insecurity. When the symbols of group identity and the social defense mechanisms of boundary drawing become too rigid, they restrict the social experience of children, preventing the expression of individual variety, and recreating segregation within the school. On the other hand, they will probably continue to function within schools as necessary individual adaptations as long as the larger society offers upward mobility to white children, while making it difficult for black children to reap the benefits of education in terms of subsequent economic and social rewards.

Schafft suggested that there were several ways a teacher could deal with ethnic boundaries in a multi-ethnic school. Children can be kept moving in classrooms and can be grouped and regrouped many times during the day. Such a strategy overcomes some of the territorial boundary marking between ethnic groups. To counter stereotyping, time can be devoted to publicly exploring the opinions, ideas, and feelings each child has vis-a-vis children of other ethnic groups.

The key, however, to overcoming those aspects of ethnic boundaries which differentiate groups in terms of inferior and superior traits is to promote equal status contact.

Equal Status Contact

At the basis of the political and social movement of desegregation is a quest for equality among racial groups in this country. The same year that the Supreme Court decision abolished segregated schools, Gordon Allport published his classic analysis The Nature of Prejudice (1954). Much of the desegregation literature is founded on his concept of equal status contact. For a review of this literature, see Carithers (1970). Both cultural difference and ethnic boundary are concepts attempting to

organize and understand ethnic relations as they appear to be empirically. Allport's concept is more of a measuring stick to determine how close particular schools have come to the ideal of equal opportunity for all and elimination of prejudice towards all. He suggested that the elimination of prejudice required prolonged contact between racial groups, under non-competitive conditions and with the status positions of each group being roughly equivalent. Many of the instructional strategies on the following pages are attempts to meet this requirement. Individualization of student work implies that no single achievement is the measure of others. Cooperative grouping cuts across the status lines created by ability grouping. Multicultural curriculum attempts to recognize the importance of all cultural traditions, rather than teach a skewed historical record which affirms the status of one group in the development of the nation and the world. Human relations activities provide a forum for all students to participate equally.

Strategies

A number of teacher guides and manuals are available which suggest strategies for implementing a successful education program, both in terms of achievement and in terms of healthy social relations. General guides for integrating schools include Bash (1973) and Ragosta and Forehand (1976). More specific guides to develop multiethnic curriculum and human relations activities include the works of Cortes (1976), Banks (1975), and Nachbar (1974). A few empirical studies are available which evaluate specific strategies (Bagley and Verma, 1972; Abrahamson, 1975; DeVries and Edwards, 1972; Patchen, et al., 1977; Blaney, 1974; and Hawley, 1976).

Organizational Strategies

Organizational strategies fall into several categories, depending on the goal desired. Innovative strategies to improve the quality of education for all students include team teaching and individualized instruction. Team teaching draws on the expertise of several teachers who can specialize in different areas of the curriculum. It also allows students to experience teachers of different ethnic backgrounds themselves. A number of case studies (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976) also mentioned individualization, although this method has brought little evaluative scrutiny since its inception. By individualizing, teachers diminish competition among students. Curriculum, teaching method, student tasks, pacing, and student evaluation are tailored to the needs of the individual student. Individualization also meets the needs of schools trying to serve the heterogeneous abilities, learning styles, and motivations of a desegregated student body without resegregating students into tracks or ability groups.

To achieve the goal of equal status interaction and improved racial attitudes among students, the key strategy is to promote cooperative relations rather than competitive relations among individual students. In Baltimore, Maryland, DeVries and Edwards (1972) described the restructuring of seventh grade math classes by means of interracial teams and instructional games. They discovered that biracial task groups promoted significantly greater cross-race helping and friendship. This finding was confirmed by Patchen, et al. (1977). In tri-ethnic classrooms in Austin, Texas, Blaney (1974) studied cooperative learning approaches, how to "build" groups, and methods of transmitting information through groups so that each student could teach a unique piece of

knowledge to his peers. She found that peer-liking increased in cooperatively structured classrooms when compared to traditional competitive classrooms, particularly among blacks and Anglos. Moreover, in the experimental classrooms, self-concept improved, attitudes toward schooling improved, and achievement levels were commensurate with those of students in control classrooms. Blaney did not, however, feel her data warranted saying that relations among all three ethnic groups radically improved. She believed such a process would take longer than the time available in her study.

Willis Hawley (1976) collected data on students self-assessments to investigate what determines students' commitments to academic achievement. He found that the most important predictor of student classroom effort was the level of student interraction, thus supporting Blaney's contention that cooperative group organization of classrooms is certainly not detrimental to student achievement. Instead, opportunity for students to work together on common tasks increases student achievement mainly through the mechanism of peer pressure.

Instructional Strategies: Multi-Ethnic Curriculum

Among the best curriculum guides to ethnic studies is James Banks' test entitled Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies. He points out that unless teachers, curriculum developers, and administrators conceive ethnic studies in a broad way, then the goal of educating students for "ethnic literacy" may not be achieved. Cortes (1976) points out the basic concepts and goals of ethnic studies with suggested teaching units and student activities. His most valuable contribution is a list of do's and don't's for ethnic studies:

1. Don't teach about an individual as belonging to one group;

do teach about an individual as belonging to many groups.

2. Don't permit ethnic studies to become a process for building or reinforcing group stereotypes; do use ethnic studies as a process for developing in students an understanding of both the general unifying threads of ethnic groups and the dynamic diversity of group cultures and experiences.

3. Don't make ethnic studies a sop to protesting groups; do teach ethnic studies because it is intellectually valid and socially necessary.

4. Don't make ethnic studies solely the study of a group by students of that group; do make ethnic studies the study of all groups by all students.

5. Don't teach about ethnic groups as a multi-ethnic group-by-group parade; do teach about ethnic groups as part of a continuous multi-ethnic process.

6. Don't leave the teaching about ethnic groups to the other person; do it yourself. (pp. 13-16)

These suggestions avoid "ghettoization" of ethnic studies from the rest of the curriculum and provide criteria for selecting materials. Some schools and teachers may choose to offer specific courses, units, or lessons on ethnicity for which specific materials are available in abundance. Others may decide to integrate the standard subject areas by reviewing general texts for their multi-ethnic perspective and choosing, accordingly. While social studies, literature, and history are "natural" areas in which to include multi-ethnic perspectives, all subject areas can be ethnically integrated with imagination.

While Cortes and Banks provide model multi-ethnic programs, several empirical studies have described and evaluated specific programs in terms of specific goals. One study conducted by Verma and Bagley (1972) tested the effectiveness of a race relations module on changing high school students' racial attitudes and pointed to small but significant positive changes among those receiving the class. Abrahamson (1975)

described a program in human relations in two Louisville, Kentucky, high schools; one all black and the other all white. Students from both schools met bi-weekly under the auspices of an urban sociology class. The class covered topics ranging from "Self-Concept" and "Group Tasks" to "Poverty," "Racism," and "Blues." Personal involvement and interaction were emphasized by group sensitivity sessions, field trips, and multi-media presentations. Abrahamson's findings on racial attitude changes, however, were inconclusive.

Conclusions

The paucity of research literature specifying strategies for teachers to employ in desegregated classrooms is not surprising. Teachers necessarily have to synthesize educational ideals, concepts of learning and group dynamics, curricular objectives and materials, pedagogical methods, and personal style into a professional unity which they present to students. At the same time, they must sensitively assess their unique array of students in terms of different cultures, classes, and personalities, and adapt their own activities accordingly. Curricular and organizational strategies must be general enough to be adapted to unique classroom groupings.

The considerations on multiethnic curriculum, human relations activities, and cooperative learning in this section are general orientations, teachers can explore the dimensions of a heterogeneous classroom and develop new ways to imaginatively solve problems arising from desegregation in the classroom. But a comprehensive description of this process in a number of classrooms and a number of schools has yet to be accomplished.

APPENDIX A:

LITERATURE REVIEW PROCESS SUMMARY

Literature Review Process Summary

The WIEDS staff read and annotated over 500 books, articles, and papers in compiling the base of information from which this review was taken. To undertake this comprehensive search, several computerized data bases were utilized: Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Psychological Abstracts, and Sociological Abstracts. Relevant titles were selected from the results of these searches. In addition, a number of prominent journals in the fields of education and desegregation were covered. Among the more useful were the Harvard Educational Review, The Journal of Negro Education, Integrated Education, Phi Delta Kappan, Sociology of Education, and School Review.

In addition, this review found a wealth of information in staff reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Without these case studies, identification of specific strategies of desegregation would be very difficult. The case studies were systematically analyzed in order to identify strategies actually employed in school districts all over the country. A more indepth analysis of these case studies is proposed in Phase II (June 1978 to November, 1979) of Project WIEDS.

APPENDIX B:

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FIELD STUDY REPORT

WIEDS PROJECT

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Compilation of Data from Central Office Interviews

Introduction

Based on the initial agreement with the National Institute of Education (NIE) to research successful strategies used by selected school districts in Texas toward desegregating their schools, central office interview data are presented in the following outline/format:

Introduction and Demography of Austin

I. Historically (Stage I)
   - A. Court deliberations and decisions
   - B. Creation of new central office positions
   - C. Creation of new programs
   - D. Administrative/governance considerations
   - E. Staff development

II. Currently (Stage II)
   - A. Current court situation
   - B. Status of current central offices, programs, and related evaluation

III. Future Implications (Stage III)
   - A. Suggested alternatives from interviews
   - B. Predicted possible court outcomes

The information is presented in narrative form, following the outline as much as possible. In addition, a tabulation in the form of frequency counts of common responses in the interviews, along with demographic data on the interviewees, is presented in summary charts at the end of the narrative (pp. 52-56). The interviews represent an explora-

tory effort and much variability and inconsistency among interviewer styles, focus of questioning, and points raised by interviewees have resulted. The frequency counts are therefore not intended to substantiate the validity of the trends as significant or the strategies as successful, but merely to give some indication of commonalities, where they occurred, in the data. A strategy mentioned by five interviewees (although perhaps not addressed by nine others) is not necessarily "more successful" than a strategy mentioned by one interviewee. The chart of frequency counts itemizes all trends mentioned by at least two interviewees; points raised by one interviewee or other sources are so indicated in the narrative.

Persons Interviewed

The central office interviews were conducted with fourteen (14) individuals: two Anglo females, one Black female, one Spanish surname female, seven Anglo males, and three Black males. These individuals, among others, were identified by the Review Committee as having been active in Austin's initial desegregation efforts. They all occupied positions in the central office administration building of AISD, except for one who occupies a district administrator position at one of the schools and was referred for interviewing because of this person's experiences/viewpoints on the Mexican-American perspective on desegregation in Austin. The current positions of the other interviewees included: one Assistant Superintendent, five Directors, one Assistant Director, and six Coordinators. Other demographic data on these individuals are listed in the summary chart (see p. 52). To protect the confidentiality of the persons involved, interviewees were coded as A through N, rather than being identified by name or position. These individuals were selected to

be interviewed based on recommendations from the Review Committee, the district's Desegregation Specialist, and some of the interviewees themselves. Additional central office personnel, active in desegregation efforts, were recommended for interviewing to WIEDS staff as our involvement into the project progressed; however, time and funding limitations did not permit further interviews during Phase One of the project.

Interviews at the central office level were conducted by four members of the WIEDS staff: an Anglo female (AF#1), age 36, conducted three interviews; a second Anglo female (AF#2), age 29, conducted four interviews; an Anglo male (AM), age 33, conducted five interviews; and a Black male (BM), age 44, conducted two interviews. See summary chart (p. 52) for information as to interviewer/interviewee pairings. An attempt was made to assign the BM interviewer to some Black interviewees, although this practice was not strictly adhered to as availability of staff members for interviewing varied. In general, interviewer assignment to interviewee was arranged at random by the WIEDS secretary.

Additional information, historical facts, and other reported desegregation strategies, although not necessarily mentioned in the interviews, were gleaned from various sources: the 1976-77 AISD Discipline Report, handbooks from various central offices, and the district's Desegregation Specialist and another individual active in Austin's desegregation.

Demography of Austin, Texas

Austin is primarily a tricultural city of approximately 330,000 residents. The predominant visible cultures are White Anglo-Saxon, Mexican-American, Black, and some Orientals, particularly within The University of Texas. Supported by light, often highly technical and

generally non-polluting industry, the city possesses a disproportionately high number of professional and skilled workers due to its status as a governmental and educational center. The two principal minority groups, Mexican-Americans and Blacks, comprise approximately 30% of the population of the city. Their share of the minority population of Austin is in many respects a socio-economic microcosm of the situation in Texas.

The city is bisected by an interregional highway with the bulk of minority residency east of the highway. Despite significant amounts of residential integration in Northeast and South Austin, a large portion of the majority and minority population lives in distinct separation. Minorities in Austin are affected in the same manner as in other comparable urban areas; relatively high unemployment, under-education, a lower average income among the employed, a significantly higher educational drop-out rate, and higher crime rate.

The Austin Independent School District is larger in geographic area than the City of Austin, and currently encompasses 230+ square miles. The district currently operates 63 elementary and 22 secondary campuses. As of October 1977, the ethnic composition of the district's 58,415 students was 59% Anglo, 24% Mexican-American, and 17% Black.

I. Historical Summary of Desegregation in AISD (Stage I)

Prior to 1955, AISD operated a "dual school system;" Black children were required by law to attend all-Black schools and not permitted in all-Anglo schools. These all-Black schools had, for the most part, all-Black faculty and administration as well. At this time, there were also all-Mexican-American schools, staffed predominantly with Anglo and a few Mexican-American teachers, and Anglo administrations. In these schools,

Spanish was not permitted to be spoken, and "Mexican Schools" (rudimentary precursors to bilingual education) were built, to aid Mexican-American children who had difficulty with English. However, Mexican-American children were not restricted by law to attending any of these schools; they were not considered a racially separate group from Anglo children, and many Mexican-American children did, in fact, attend all-Anglo schools.

Following the Supreme Court's Brown decision in 1954, Austin did make some voluntary attempts to dismantle its dual school system. During the years 1955-1963, beginning with grades 10-12 and systematically extending the plan to include grades 1-9, all Black students were given a limited "freedom of choice" to attend an all-Black school or an adjacent Anglo school (usually, in actuality, a Mexican-American school) in their neighborhood. Conjointly, students from any other high school could choose to attend Anderson High. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, which declared unlawful any discrimination on the basis of race, color, or creed, along with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) created regulations to the effect that no federal funds could be expended without integration in mind. In 1967, the "freedom of choice" option was expanded to allow all high school students living in the all-Black Anderson High School area to attend any other high school in the district. At this time, the Civil Rights movement was in full swing nationally, and many Black parents were interested in exerting what they felt to be their right to integrate their children into the Anglo schools. In fact, the year before court-ordered desegregation (1970), 57.6% of the Black junior high school enrollment and 56.6% of the Black high school enrollment was located in formerly all-Anglo school buildings (meaning Mexican-American Anglos in most cases).

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) survey team (1968) found AISD to be in non-compliance with the Civil Rights Act for "failure to eliminate all remaining vestiges of the dual school system," (i.e., the still predominantly Black St. John's Elementary, Kealing Junior High, and Anderson High Schools). During the next two years, AISD made several attempts to improve facilities and programs and also extended the "freedom of choice" to all Black students, grades 1-12, living and attending school in predominantly Black neighborhoods. This was an effort to be in compliance with HEW concerning the adequacy of their desegregation status.

Despite AISD's voluntary efforts toward desegregating their schools, HEW approved none of the activities and on August 7, 1970 the federal government filed suit against AISD in Federal District Court. Shortly after the suit was filed, the Federal District Court judge issued an oral order on August 27, 1970 closing St. John's Elementary School and changing the north-south orientation of the Anderson High School boundary, attempting to integrate more Anglos into the predominantly Black school. A dramatic and massive "white flight" from the Maplewood area occurred as school opened, and Anglo parents clearly rebelled at the notion of sending their children to a "Black school." The judge, on September 4, 1970, rescinded this order, and restored the original Anderson High boundary.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Mexican-American Legal Defense in Education Fund (MALDEF) had become interested in the case against AISD from their separate but similar concerns for the minorities whom they represented. NAACP was granted a petition to become an intervenor in the case against the dis-

trict by the local judge; this same judge denied an intervention request by MALDEF on the grounds that there had never been any legal ruling requiring Mexican-American children to attend certain schools, as there has been for Blacks.

From information in the interviews completed by Project WIEDS, 1970 is identified as the year in which Austin's first real desegregation efforts got underway, marked by that first court-ordered realignment of the Anderson High district. AISD, as mentioned, had made some earlier attempts to voluntarily desegregate its schools (see Frequency Counts, #1), but desegregation in Austin has become equated with court orders (see Frequency Counts, #2) which are followed by institutional and community responses to that legal action. Depending on the particular point of view of each central office interviewee, the degree to which AISD has remained primarily passive in its desegregation efforts as opposed to actively trying to deal with problems of race varies. In discussing the content of these central office interviews, two trends are mentioned: (1) that the desegregation issue is generally used in reference to Black, Anglo, and Mexican Americans (see Summary Chart of Demographic Data on Central Office Interviews, p. 52, "Focus of Desegregation Concern"), which relates to the legal definition of discrimination being entrenched in segregationist practices articulated by law (e.g., the dual school system for Anglos and Blacks); and (2) that a distinction is made between the terms "desegregation" and "integration"--the former meaning the mixing of bodies of different ethnic group children in the classroom to reflect the racial quotas present in the ethnic composition of the community, while "integration" embodies the ideas of mutual concern, cooperation, and respect among members of different ethnic

groups living and working in one setting (see Frequency Counts, #30).

Another facet of 1970 which has characterized it as the first year of desegregation in Austin was the recruitment of Jack Davidson, who had been active in desegregation in Florida, as Superintendent for AISD. He was appointed in October of 1970. Davidson was frequently mentioned by the interviewees regarding his commendable implementation of a desegregation plan for the district (see Frequency Counts, #7). Herein lies the first, and perhaps most crucial, desegregation strategy made apparent from the interviews--that a supportive, creative person in the top administrative position in the school district determines the success or even the existence of desegregation attempts at other levels. By the Spring of 1971, Davidson had established several new departments within the central office structure to address needs within the school system, some of which were inherent to problems foreseen with desegregation. These new departments were: (1) the Office of Human Relations, (2) the Office of School-Community Relations, (3) the Office of Staff Development and Student Teaching, and (4) the Office of Student Affairs. The first two offices were created specifically with desegregation in mind, to deal with problems between students of different ethnic groups, parents' concerns, and teacher's means of dealing with both students and teachers of different ethnic groups. Federal funding was obtained to support these departments in their desegregation efforts from the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP). The latter two offices were not established with any specific desegregation goals in mind, but desegregation issues were addressed in both of them (e.g., the Office of Staff Development and Student Teaching dealt with recruitment of minority teachers, reassignment problems of teachers within the district, training of staff in communication

and listening skills; the Office of Student Affairs provided student advocacy services, dealt with crisis intervention during and after race-rioting in the schools, and handled the high incidence of discipline problems of minority students).

Another voluntary, pre-court order desegregation effort by AISD, begun in the mid-60's, involved integrating the teaching staff (see Frequency Counts, #3 and #4). Because Black teachers had been employed only for the Black schools, the district's minority percentage of teachers was about 14% Black, matching the student population of 15-16% Black at that time. Mexican Americans were not considered a racially separate group from Anglos, and in actuality there were very few Mexican Americans on the staff (approximately 3% in 1971). At present, as a result of active recruitment of more minorities, the percentage of Mexican-American teachers is 12 to 13%, which is still significantly less than the current Mexican-American student population of 24%. But by 1970-71 the teaching staff throughout the district, according to ethnic percentages of Black and Anglo, was considered integrated. Measures were then taken to look at the ethnic distribution of teachers on each campus and the first "crossover" of teachers (reassigning Black teachers from the predominantly Black schools to predominantly Anglo schools) was employed that year. Anglo teachers were also crossed-over into the predominantly Black schools. A similar attempt was made to place minority members in central office positions. Two Blacks were hired to head the two "desegregation-related" offices created by Davidson. The only Mexican-American campus administrator in the district at that time was at an elementary school, but Mexican-American community groups such as the Concerned Parents for Equal Education were organizing. The subsequent

years witnessed the hiring of both Blacks and Mexican Americans into administrative positions. Some central office interviewees viewed these measures as indicative of Austin's successful voluntary integration of its staff and management (see Frequency Counts, #5), while others contend that the efforts have not been active (recruitment), continuous (promotions in salary and/or position), or comprehensive (disproportionate representation), while reflecting tokenism and denying minorities positions of real authority or responsibility.

By June of 1971, the non-compliance suit was on trial in Federal District Court. The court ruled that AISD was not discriminating against Mexican-American students, but, on July 19, ordered the closing of the three predominantly all-Black schools--Anderson High, Kealing Junior High, and St. John's Elementary. Feeder patterns were to be drawn up and busing of the Black students who had attended these schools was to begin when school opened the following month. Many interviewees contend that this short notice to implement a court-ordered plan proved to be counter-productive toward developing responsive, coping methods of desegregating (see Frequency Counts, #6) as energies were absorbed primarily in working out the mechanics of the busing with little time available for staff training, curriculum changes, or human relations concerns. Such a contention, then, implies that another "successful strategy" of paramount concern for improving education in desegregated schools involves the adequate planning and preparation of staff and students for the changes they will be experiencing (see Frequency Counts, #12).

From the time AISD was found in non-compliance until the present, many desegregation plans have been researched for their suitability to Austin's needs and racial housing patterns. One of these was the David-

son Plan (conceived by the superintendent) which required the establishment of Elementary Learning Centers. According to the plan, children of all ethnic groups would have been bused daily to a particular area center and work on a specific instructional task for a determined number of days and then would have returned to their home base school when the unit was completed. The idea would have had children of different ethnic groups introduced to working with each other while in an academic (classroom) setting rather than a social (cafeterias, playgrounds) one, where more discipline problems tend to occur. The plan was elaborately developed, complete with curriculum changes, pairing of schools to provide the ethnic mixes of students, the collection of special materials and creative resources, etc., and was approved for implementation by the judge with the July, 1971 busing order. However, in August, 1971, the federal government appealed the decision to implement the Davidson Plan on the grounds that it did not provide for complete integration of students, as the majority of the year they would have still been attending schools in segregated settings.

During the next year (1972), the case was deliberated in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Several elementary school plans were submitted to the court at this time, including a plan to establish fifth and sixth grade centers, isolated from the other elementary levels, with minority students being bused in daily to achieve racial balance within the school. In August of 1972, the case was remanded to the Federal District Court for retrial.

At the same time that the Austin desegregation case was being deliberated in the courts, the repercussions of the busing order were being felt in the community and the schools. The initial busing of Blacks in

1971 brought angry responses from those Black students and their parents who resented having their schools closed, as well as hostility from the Anglo students who did not want their schools "infiltrated" by Blacks (see Frequency Counts, #13). Violence, disruption, and dissension marked the first years of court-ordered desegregation in Austin. An ad hoc crisis intervention team, informally tagged the "Mod Squad," was established to handle such strife (see Frequency Counts, #15). The team was comprised of the Coordinators of the Offices of School-Community Relations and of Student Affairs, together with the Director of Counseling and Guidance, assisted by the Coordinator of Human Relations and the Assistant Superintendent for Administrative Services. The team members existed as the only intervenors for the first semester of the 1971-72 school year; in January of 1972, they wrote a proposal for federal funds from the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) to create the School-Community Liaison Representative Program (SCLRP). The proposal was promptly approved, and in March 1972, a nine-member, tri-ethnic team of SCLR's was trained to go into the schools and deal with racial strife. The SCLR's took over and expanded the duties of the "Mod Squad." The greatest racial problems during this time occurred at the high school level (see Frequency Counts, #14); consequently, this is where the SCLR's concentrated their early efforts. They sponsored student retreats, discussion groups, "Partners Club" (pairings of students of different ethnic groups to develop friendships), as well as the establishment of both Student and Faculty Human Relations Committees. They also responded to community requests for meetings to discuss parents' concerns, conducted workshops, and provided follow-up on referrals from the Office of Student Affairs (discipline).

Some techniques or strategies of crisis intervention (Stage I) mentioned as effective in the central office interviews included:

a) getting acquainted activities - e.g., students who were involved in extracurricular activities at the closed Black schools were greeted by the students in the same activities at the desegregated school; dual Student Council Presidents and other such positions were in effect for that first year of busing.

b) community awareness - meetings with angry parents to educate them as to the reasons why their child's school was closed.

c) time out - if a fight occurred, students were allowed time-out to "loosen up" or ventilate some of their emotional steam, e.g., the Mod Squad member who, in a stalemate situation between Anglo and Black students, picked up a basketball and started shooting baskets; pretty soon the kids were involved in the physical activity, releasing tension and playing together, and later were able to sit down and talk about their differences.

d) getting to know the names of students - intervenors used this personal approach, along with touching to gain the trust of students.

e) targeting of student leaders - intervenors worked with those students identified as group "leaders," and attempted to change their hostile attitudes, which, in turn, affected the attitudes of the group followers.

f) using a form of Reality Therapy - intervenors, rather than dictating to students, allowed them to take responsibility for their own choices, behavior, etc. and to establish their own goals and commitments to change.

What kinds of staff preparation, albeit a limited amount due to the lack of time and resources, were implemented with the onset of court-ordered desegregation in Austin (see Frequency Counts, #8)? The first year some discussion occurred at principals' meetings on how to handle race problems, and every secondary teacher went through TED-TAC (Texas Educational Desegregation and Technical Assistance Center) human relations training program. By the next year (1972-73), other human relations workshops were offered for school personnel through the Office of

Human Relations, and were led by some of the same individuals identified as active members of the "Mod Squad." These workshops consisted of two weekend retreats and centered around a Sensitivity Training model (National Training Laboratories); communication skills (e.g., paraphrasing, perception-checking, giving and receiving feedback, sharing of feelings) were taught, practiced, and applied (through role-playing) to problem-solving modes of dealing with actual situations occurring in the schools. Originally designed for training counselors, these workshops were attended by 200 teachers, counselors, and administrators (about 10% of the total faculty) who volunteered to participate. A point worth mentioning here, as expressed by several central office interviewees, is that the staff members perceived to most need human relations training (e.g., those holding racist attitudes) were not the ones who volunteered to participate in staff development workshops (see Frequency Counts, #10); those who did participate were typically individuals who consistently sought out means of expanding both their personal and professional growth. Hence, staff development in the schools was limited to the extent that it failed to impact a target group. The aforementioned strategy of having a supportive leader occupying the top administrative position was mentioned frequently in the interviews as being operant at the campus level as well in "successfully desegregating" schools. Many offices received requests to conduct additional training at specific schools from their respective principals. Administrators, on other campuses, historically initiated and modeled very little in the way of growth experiences for their staffs. Schools which had fostered extensive human relations training and multi-ethnic awareness activities were repeatedly mentioned as exemplary models in the central office interviews. A belief expressed by several inter-

viewees was that the degree to which such practices were employed determined the facility with which a given school "successfully desegregated" (determined by decreased incidence of discipline problems, increased achievement in academics, expanded involvement in school activities by all ethnic members, etc.) (see Frequency Counts, #16 and #17).

In addition to the SCLRP, other ESAA federally funded programs were initiated through the central office to deal with problems inherent in desegregation. The Secondary Reading and Staff Development Program (SRSDP), the largest ESAA funded program, supported a reading teacher in almost all secondary schools to provide an individualized tutoring program in reading and other basic content skills for students in need of academic assistance (mostly minority members). Staff training for these teachers in human relations skills and use of special multicultural reading materials was provided by the Coordinator and three Staff Development Specialists (whose salaries were incremented through some local funds). The program made use of both parent and peer tutors within some schools and more than 2,500 students received services. As one interviewee attested, students in SRSDP benefited directly (as evidenced by improved basic academic skills), and indirectly (as evidenced by reduced absenses and disciplinary problems).

While the high schools traditionally have offered a summer school program for students falling short of promotion to the next grade, no similar program had been provided at the junior high level. The forerunner to the Summer Enrichment Program (SEP) was conceived and developed by three individuals who had been active in the crisis intervention work in the early years of Austin desegregation. First designed to impact 30-50 junior high students exhibiting severe behavior problems in the

schools (mostly minorities, particularly Blacks), the program provided social and academic skill development, with the main emphasis at that time on helping the students develop coping skills in order to survive within the educational system. Initially supported by ESAA funding only, teachers, counselors, SCLR's, and others worked with this target group during the summer, using Reality Therapy techniques within a "Jesse Jackson approach" (i.e., identifying specific behaviors that had "blown it" for these kids, exploring alternate means of solving racial problems, contracting behavioral commitments to change certain behaviors, etc.) in an attempt to reduce their long term suspensions and to increase their chances of promotion to the next grade. According to those individuals interviewed who were associated with the SEP in its early years, approximately 50% of the targeted students made positive changes (i.e., an inference based on their not being referred to the program the following year), which for this particular group (typically hostile toward the system in all respects) reflected a significant success rate.

It was evident during the first years of court-ordered desegregation in AISD that minorities were typically not involved in extracurricular activities, other than sports, and a task force was created to examine this problem and to make recommendations to the Board of Trustees. Minority discipline problems were disproportionately high, and it was postulated that if minorities felt a greater sense of involvement in their schools, i.e., through participation in activities and clubs, their discipline problems might decrease and their academic achievement might increase (see Frequency Counts, #32). In short, they would be more likely to stay in school. The efforts of this task force resulted in the following consequences: (1) an intentional change from the use of the

term "extracurricular," connoting frills and incidentals, to "student activities," connoting integral components of the educational process; (2) policy changes, such as lowering the 85% grade cutoff in order to hold student offices, which, in effect, would no longer serve as a blocking measure to minorities; (3) plans to work with principals to actively recruit minorities into activities; and (4) the creation of a central office position of Coordinator of Student Activities. The task force assisted each school in developing its own recruitment plan and policy changes. Some examples of the "successful strategies" along these lines included the practice of having the student population vote on six cheerleaders and selecting the top eight (increasing minority member prospects for being selected); other campuses employed an elaborate system for increasing the probability of minority participation in student government called the Hare System (named after the professor from The University of Texas Civics Department who developed it).

Local funds were limited at the time, so the Coordinator of Student Activities position was written into the ESAA proposal for the following year (1973-74) since it was to be directly focused on the desegregation effort of minority involvement in activities. The Student Activity Program (SAP) provided money to students (mostly minorities) who could not otherwise afford the fees to compete in University Interscholastic League events, to buy the equipment (e.g., tennis racquet) necessary to be in a particular club, or to pay for bus fare to a special event, in addition to supporting all clubs and organizations in all secondary schools. The coordinator also organized faculty workshops on techniques to foster minority participation in activities (e.g., promoting the idea of multi-ethnicity on recruitment bulletin boards as opposed to

displaying the faces of members of one ethnicity only), provided training for activity sponsors within the schools, recruited parents to assist activity sponsors, and coordinated special projects (e.g., Alex Haley's visit to Austin). Twenty teachers within the schools served as student activities contact persons for their particular campuses. The SAP received the least amount of ESAA funding, and was primarily supported through local funds. The extent of minority participation in activities has been increasing since its inception, as evidenced by minorities occupying student government offices, being more visible in cheerleading and pep squads, as well as organizing their own special interest clubs (e.g., Black Studies, Ethnic Clubs) (see Frequency Counts, #28). One interviewee and another source indicated the controversial nature of the debatable value of such cultural heritage clubs (i.e., they may foster either awareness and/or clustering of minorities).

Coinciding with the first desegregation busing order in 1971 was Senate Bill 738, rescinding the use of urban transportation facilities: all students who lived more than two miles from urban transportation routes could use school buses, which received state support; those who lived less than two miles from the route were not eligible for any transportation. Between the court busing order of July 1971, and the opening of school in late August, 31 additional vehicles and drivers were obtained. As many incidences of racial hostilities were experienced on, or directed at, these "desegregation" buses, a rudimentary human relations training program consisting of a slide show and tape presentation followed by a discussion of how to handle potential problems, was incorporated into the driver training program. An adjunct to the regular bus program, designed to assist in the desegregation process, was the

Special Late Bus Transportation for Special Activities (SLB). This locally funded program was added as support to the regular transportation program for students who resided in the court-ordered feeder areas. Five late buses make two trips into the East Austin neighborhoods, one at 4:30-4:50 to serve students in activity programs, and the second at 6:15-6:40, to serve athletic programs. These buses were used by approximately 106 high school and 145 junior high school students daily. Despite the assistance offered by the SLB, many interviewees indicated that minority participation in school activities was limited due to the strident bus schedules and late hour at which the students would arrive home if they stayed after school (see Frequency Counts, #27). In addition, the bused students missed out on early morning or late afternoon "socializing time" at school as the buses did not arrive until late in the morning and departed right on time in the afternoon. Hence, a sense of school identity, pride, and interest failed to develop in many of these bused students.

As desegregation was affecting the schools, AISD was undergoing some policy revisions related to discipline, the use of corporal punishment, dress codes, etc. It was a time when students were reacting against "the System" and the authority which represented it. Superintendent Davidson had the foresight to establish the Office of Student Affairs (OSA) out of a general need for central office to pay attention to student concerns. With the existence of racial conflicts and misinterpretation of culturally-specific behaviors (see Frequency Counts, #34) (e.g., Anglo teacher punishing Black body language as inappropriate in the classroom), a disproportionately large number of minority students (particularly Blacks) were being short- and long-term suspended. The

coordinator of the OSA served as student ombudsman to provide appeal procedures, ensure due process, assist in problem-solving, and make referrals for all students having discipline problems. The OSA has evolved to become a source of policy interpretation and modification (e.g., changes in suspension policies). The number of long-term suspensions (which tended to be mostly minority students) has been reduced recently, along with the longevity of those suspensions, which is evidence of the effectiveness of the efforts of the OSA as a desegregation strategy (see Frequency Counts, #29).

The other Davidson-designed department, which coincided with court-ordered desegregation in AISD, was the Office of Staff Development and Student Teaching (OSD). It was created out of a need to coordinate, though not necessarily direct, (1) the various training programs being offered to staff district-wide and (2) the large student teaching program operant in AISD. Initially, through the use of ESAA and later state and local funds, the Coordinator of OSC developed a series of training models called Leader Effectiveness Training (LET). Later it became the Teacher Effectiveness Training (TET) Program, and most recently incorporated some Transactional Analysis theory and was identified as Interacting Skills for Educators (ISE). Usually offered two or three times a year for 30-40 hours, these workshops have combined insights about human relationships with practice of interpersonal communication skills. The LET originally trained 200 administrators in 1972; it is estimated by certain interviewees that most principals in the district have undergone either the LET or the ISE or both. Testimonials of principals included comments such as, "these workshops have been one of the most valuable training experiences that they've ever received, both profes-

sionally as well as personally," (see Frequency Counts, #21). Beginning in 1973, TET was conducted for several small groups of teachers, but the OSC lacked the funds to implement the training on a more extensive scale. Currently, segments of ISE are being offered to teachers who work with student teachers. These interacting skills workshops have been identified as a consistent, long-term attempt, on the part of OSD, to provide specific training for desegregation purposes, and they appear to encapsulate many "successful desegregation strategies," (e.g., active listening, giving and receiving feedback, stroking, leveling, problem-solving) that fall under the aforementioned rubric of human relations.

By 1972, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had granted MALDEF's request to enter into the AISD suit as intervenors with NAACP. In May of 1973, the retrial was heard in Federal District Court. The Davidson Plan was rejected in its entirety and a compromise plan, developed from aspects of the former, was submitted for approval. On August 1, 1973, the Federal District Court judge approved the AISD plan and ordered the creation of sixth-grade centers to extend desegregation into that grade. Six elementary schools were converted into centers for sixth grade students only, and busing was extended to the East Austin Black children. In addition, two other Sixth Grade Centers were located in the predominantly Mexican-American Martin and Allen Junior High schools, also in East Austin. Supplemental to the Sixth Grade Center Plan, AISD agreed to a number of program commitments:

(1) The implementation of many innovative programs designed to aid minority students, including bilingual and bicultural education.

(2) The employment of five Elementary Assistant Directors who would, among other things, supervise and evaluate these programs.

(3) The employment of a Black and a Mexican-American Assistant Superintendent to assist in the development of programs for Black and Mexican-American students.

(4) The establishment of a majority-to-minority transfer policy with free transportation for Black and Mexican-American students.

(5) Inter-district transfers to be done on a non-discriminatory basis except for those which would have a negative effect on integration.

(6) The continued desegregation of classrooms, extracurricular and student activities.

In addition, Austin committed itself to recruit additional Mexican-American faculty, to select sites for new school construction which would maximize desegregation, and to alter and draw attendance zones to promote desegregation.

On August 15, 1973, the Justice Department and the intervenors (MALDEF and NAACP) appealed the order creating the Sixth Grade Centers, and the case rested in the Fifth Circuit Court for three years.

Another strategy toward successful desegregation implemented by Superintendent Davidson was the appointment of a Committee of 15, comprised of seven Blacks, seven Mexican Americans, and one Anglo (Assistant Superintendent for Instruction). The committee met regularly for over a year with the purpose of investigating desegregation strategies other school districts and communities had devised in regard to curriculum, recruiting minority teachers and principals, etc. One of the conclusions was that the AISD curriculum was not meeting the needs of many minority children at that time. Concerns and differences of problems in both Black dialect and Spanish were addressed.

There were some East Austin schools ("Mexican schools") where rudimentary versions of a bilingual program had been in operation; an

improved and expanded bilingual/multicultural program was implemented in 1973 in all elementary schools where there existed children whose predominant language was Spanish. The emphasis of this program was (1) transition, providing teaching in Spanish in basic subjects for the Spanish-dominant child, while he/she made the shift into English, and (2) maintenance, enabling the child to sustain competence in both languages. There was also an ESAA bilingual oral language development program at the preschool, elementary, and secondary levels, for children from families that qualified as migrants. Six pre-kindergarten units were operational at elementary school sites where high densities of migrant children had been identified. Those not residing in those geographical areas were bused to the site closest in proximity to their homes. Although Mexican-American interest groups such as MALDEF clearly supported and demanded extensive bilingual education in AISD for their children, several interviewees pointed out that a bilingual program as a desegregation strategy is only "successful" in relation to the manner in which it is implemented, i.e., if all Spanish-speaking children were taken out of the regular classroom for bilingual instruction, they, in fact, were purposely segregated from the other students (see Frequency Counts, #19 and #20); whereas other sources contended that whether the students were in fact segregated or not was of lesser importance than the quality outcomes of programs such as the bilingual ones. And the bilingual programs have proven to be beneficial (in terms of improved performance, increased achievement, and greater sense of school identity) (see Frequency Counts, #18), particularly in schools where there were a large number of Mexican-American students.

Other programs developed to address the Mexican-American student's

needs as part of the 1973 commitments included: the formation of auxiliary computer studies through the mathematics department at Johnston High School (predominantly Mexican-American); Project Self at Martin Junior High (predominantly Mexican-American), funded by Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, and which emphasized self motivation and self management skills in working with students, parents, and staff; and the Outdoor Study Area pilot project provided for studying social studies and science at Govalle Elementary School (predominantly Mexican-American).

As indicated previously, most of the central office interviewees discussed desegregation in Austin in its legal/historical context, i.e., limiting their discussions to Blacks rather than to Blacks and Mexican Americans. The minority population, particularly Mexican Americans, has been steadily increasing in Austin at a faster rate than the Anglo population. The unintentional misrepresentation (and consequent inherent bias of the central office data) of focusing almost exclusively on the Black perspective risks obscuring the problems, needs, and successful strategies of desegregating the Mexican-American populace in Austin. This increasingly more vocal minority has been forcefully consistent in their attempts to expunge both covert and overt segregation practices against them. The one Mexican-American interviewee indicated that the "attachment" of the two sixth grade centers to Martin and Allen Junior Highs was strongly resented by many in the Mexican-American community. These sixth graders not only lacked their own separate facilities (e.g., library, school grounds, cafeteria) but exclusive access to staff (e.g., principals, counselors, aides, helping teachers) as well. Hence, according to the interviewee, many of these children received the message that they

were somehow "under-privileged," "inferior," or "different" from their peers elsewhere in the district.

An additional programmatic effort over the past four years which was also aimed at this particular minority group involved the School Board's allocation of funds to lower the pupil/teacher ratio (ptr) in high minority impacted areas. In 16 predominantly minority (Black and/or Mexican-American) elementary schools, the ptr was reduced from 26/1 to 22/1. The program is less costly than busing and has been highly effective for students in terms of achievement. Again, depending on personal viewpoints, one interviewee and another source pointed out the controversial nature of this tactic being viewed as either a complacency offering by AISD to appease the intentionally segregated minorities, or as a solution to quality education and integration through minority impacting.

During the three years (1973-76) that the Austin case was resting in Fifth Circuit Court for an appeal trial, several hearings regarding new site construction for Austin schools occurred:

- In February, 1974, a hearing in local Federal District Court regarding the construction of Sanchez, Houston, and Williams Elementary Schools was denied at the request of the Government and the intervenors on the grounds that these proposed new school sites were located on the fringes of Anglo neighborhoods and would further encourage "white flight" into other areas.

- In June, 1974, a hearing was held in Federal District Court concerning the boundaries of L.B.J. High School.

- In April, 1975, a request was submitted for the construction of Southwest Senior High School. On May 6, 1975, MALDEF submitted a letter saying the proposed new high school was unacceptable for integration; on May 25, NAACP objected as well.

- In June, 1975, a request for a boundary change for McCallum High and Lamar Junior High was made with no objections.

- In July, 1975, requests for approval of construction of Northeast

Junior High School and replacement for Fulmore Junior High School were made.

• In September, 1975, the Fifth Circuit Court requested fall enrollment figures of the student and teacher population by race for Austin schools. The data was furnished the court in October, and in January 1976, the same court denied approval to build Southwest High and Northeast Junior High Schools on the grounds that they would fail to maximize integration.

The opposition, by minorities, to proposed new school site construction in areas that would only foster continued segregation reflects the attitude expressed by many central office interviewees that desegregation in Austin cannot be accomplished in the schools apart from moves toward integration in other institutions (e.g., churches, politics, marriage, and family) and the overall housing patterns which determine community representation and involvement in these institutions (see Frequency Counts, #39). One generalization implied in the interviews was successful school desegregation is directly proportional to continued community desegregation, and the extent to which the latter can be successfully accomplished will determine and assist the former. Some "successful strategies" which were mentioned or implied by these contentions included the idea of the School Board working directly with real estate agents to break down segregation tactics (e.g., encouraging prospective home buyers to purchase houses in neighborhoods consistent with their race and socio-economic level) and increasing community education to eliminate ethnic prejudices and stereotypes. Unfortunately, the schools tend to make contact with only those members of the community who have children but the responsibility for implementing such strategies must be shared by local government and community organizations as well. Some sources indicated that the judicial spokesmen for the courts (typically upper socio-economic level Anglo males), out of fear of "white

flight" and other majority-rule reactions to legal mandates, tend to defer to the racial prejudices that create these "realistic limitations" to comprehensive integration in Austin. They place the burden of responsibility for desegregation on the minorities rather than on the majority who "own the problems" of racism (see Frequency Counts, #33). Although many interviewees spoke out against busing, they recognized it as a "necessary evil" which would not be so objectionable if it were equally executed for Anglos (i.e., majority into minority school busing) (see Frequency Counts, #38). Some interviewees stated that busing, despite its being controversial, has had positive long-term effects on the students (see Frequency Counts, #26). The interviewees cited, as evidence, the students' increased understanding and appreciation of different ethnic groups as well as the decrease in reported hostilities relating to race in the schools.

Continued efforts to foster parent involvement and education in parenting skills were mentioned several times as needs which might improve the perceptions of parents and students regarding racial beliefs (see Frequency Counts, #36 and #37).

On May 13, 1976, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals again remanded the case to the local Federal District Court, in effect calling for further desegregation (to include Mexican-American as well as Black students) and possible abolition of the Sixth Grade Centers (on the grounds that they did not constitute adequate desegregation at the elementary level). This decision was appealed by AISD to the U. S. Supreme Court in August 1976, after a petition for a rehearing in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had been denied in June.

In October 1976, the Justice Department likewise petitioned the U. S.

Court of Appeals to review the case. Two months later, the Supreme Court annulled the May 1976 remand order by the Fifth Circuit Court and ordered that court to review the case again. The former court contended that the Fifth Circuit Court's remedy was too broad and had not specified how Mexican-American students' rights had been violated; furthermore, the amount of busing required if Mexican Americans were to be included in a court-ordered desegregation plan was not warranted by the degree of discrimination attested to against this group.

Since the 1970 court order, AISD has been under mandate to achieve an ethnic balance in its teaching staff. This requirement was reiterated as part of the 1973 order, emphasizing the need to recruit additional Mexican-American faculty. A progress report on staff recruitment and overall AISD ethnic balance is forwarded to the judge every six months. In addition, and apart from the courts' orders, AISD has had to submit each year the current faculty and staff ethnic distributions of each school to HEW's Office of Human Rights. These reports stand as evidence of AISD's attempts to establish compliance on racial ratios of teachers for each campus. One such compliance attempt was made during the summer of 1975, with a second major "crossover" of teachers in the district. Since the teacher percentages and the community percentages are different, 76 teachers (half Anglo/half Black) were reassigned prior to the beginning of the 1975-76 school year. This action was taken as a precautionary measure against another non-compliance suit being filed against the district, as well as a necessary prerequisite for the approval of that year's ESAA proposal. Although many teachers and their families resented the crossover (see Frequency Counts, #24), once the reasons behind it were adequately explained, only two teachers appealed their transfers.

It was reported in the interviews that the reassignment of teachers to achieve ethnic balance within the schools, though initially resented and questioned by both principals and teachers, has been accepted by the school staff through the years, and has convinced them of the pay-offs of achieving an ethnic balance in the schools even though no court has ordered it (see Frequency Counts, #25). The turnover rate and requests for transfers have dropped tremendously in East Austin schools, benefiting the students as well as providing continuity of programs and greater feelings of security.

While the secondary schools have the SRSDP, the sixth grade centers began receiving State Compensatory Education (SCE) money in 1976 to provide for the development of reading and mathematics skills to students achieving below grade level (many of whom are minorities). SCE also provided transition curriculum development for grades 7-12 and served to coordinate federal program planning for minority students including the development of competencies, models, and project designs. A bilingual component to SCE provided additional resources to four elementary schools for substitutes and supplies for their bilingual programs.

It was implied in the central office interviews that the ease/success with which AISD has desegregated was related to the extent and content of programs developed to increase student (particularly minorities) involvement in both the academic and social aspects of their education. Other programs which have been effective, although not mentioned in the interviews as successful strategies toward desegregation per se included:

- Title I - Reading Improvement Program - since 1973 has emphasized reading through three models: Individualized Skills, Expanded Laboratory, and Psychotechnics in 20 targeted (many predominantly minority) elementary schools and seven private institutions.

• Title I - Parental Involvement Program - since 1976, parental involvement activities have been provided on 20 Title I elementary campuses (K-5 only) with Title I Community Representatives. These persons (currently there are 18 of them) act as liaisons between home and school to involve parents more in the planning, developing, and evaluation of the program and provide for a local Parent Advisory Committee and district-wide Parent Advisory Council to give this input.

• Student and Faculty Advisory Committees - again designed and implemented by Superintendent Davidson, were created out of a need for the central office administration to keep in close contact with what was happening on local campuses and to get direct input from the students and teachers on the educational system. The committees are both tri-ethnically composed for the purpose of providing the Superintendent with concerns relative to both the majority and minority school populations. Overt, as well as covert, student leaders are identified and recruited to serve on the committee in order to represent both the students who are "making it" in the system as well as those who are not.

• Indochinese Program - has provided for English language improvement through the use of materials and tutors in all schools (K-12) who have enrollments of Vietnamese or Cambodian students.

• Project "ZAP" - a continuing effort at Crockett High School (currently 80% A, 13% MA, 7% B) designed to help ninth graders adjust to Crockett, become successful students, and remain in school until graduation. Upper classroom students conduct orientation, activity recruitment, and tutoring in the advisory period once a week.

• Creative Consumer's World - a program at Rosedale Elementary School designed to increase math skills in practical consumer situations.

• The Diagnostic Intervention Program - created in 1971-72 under the Office of Counseling and Guidance because many minority students in grades K-5 were having difficulty in developing coping skills in the classroom but did not seem to be appropriate candidates for Special Education. The staff members are on-call to help students having classroom adjustment problems and to work with the teachers as well in developing alternate means of coping with the child, setting up the classroom, etc.

• Managing Classrooms Positively - created in 1976-77 under the Office of Student Development (formerly Counseling and Guidance) has supported 13 staff who provide inservice training, consultation, and demonstration teaching to more effectively manage classroom behavior and reduce the high incidence of punishment given minority students in school. Funded by the

National Institute of Mental Health, the program uses Reality Therapy and Behavior Modification principles to help teachers and administrators develop means of helping students change their behavior other than through corporal punishment and short- and long-term suspensions.

- Visiting Teachers - also under the Office of Student Development has assigned 12-15 "floating" social workers (with teacher certification) to clusters of schools to work with students who are having problems at home (e.g., child abuse, divorce). Many of these children tend to be from minority or low socio-economic status families.

- Local Pilot Projects - since 1973, funds (this year approximately $50,000) have been set aside by AISD to encourage the development of innovative programs at the local campus level. Principals and their staffs apply for these funds and a committee selects the highest quality projects as recipients each year. Currently, pilot projects exist in about 20 schools, most involving the use of some classroom teaching technique.

- Learning Institute - a summer training program first implemented in 1977, conducted at St. Edward's University for teachers of minority students. To be held again June 27-July 1, 1978.

There are more programs in existence which either directly or indirectly support AISD's desegregation efforts. According to AISD's Desegregation Specialist, there are approximately 100 such efforts which he recently compiled and inventoried. As one central office interviewee stated, "AISD took advantage of court-ordered desegregation and reviewed and changed policies where needed as well as developed new programs as offshoots to the issues desegregation raised" (i.e., achievement, coping, human relations, classroom management, discipline, etc.).

In the Spring of 1977, supplemental briefs were filed by the litigants with the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. On November 21, 1977, this court ruled for the third time that AISD intentionally segregates its Mexican-American students, again objected to the single-grade (sixth) integration plan for the elementary level, and once more remanded the case to Federal

District Court for a rehearing. AISD, in January 1978, asked the Fifth Circuit Court to reconsider its November 1977 ruling charging intentional segregation of Mexican-American students, but to date no further court action has been taken. Thus, the Austin desegregation case is currently more than seven years old.

II. Current Summary of Desegregation in AISD (Stage II)

Each October the current school populations and ethnic distributions are reported by campus to reflect quotas which are consistent with changing housing patterns in each neighborhood. The elementary districts serve as the lowest common denominator in AISD's organizational scheme for determining which students attend which school at all levels (K-12). Feeder patterns for court-ordered bused students (Blacks) are based on elementary districts as well, but busing plans do not change with the flux in housing. AISD is still operating under the same feeder plans approved by the court in 1973.

At present, the following high schools have satellite zones established in East Austin from which Black students are bused daily: Anderson, Crockett, Lanier, and Travis. In addition, two high schools (Austin and Reagan) have contiguous zones which were part of the old Anderson zone. Concurrently, the following junior high schools have satellite zones in East Austin: Bedichek, Burnet, Dobie, Fulmore, Murchison, and Porter. Both O. Henry and Pearce have contiguous zones which were part of the Kealing zone. When St. John's Elementary School was closed, its students were assigned to two contiguous schools, Brown and Andrews. When the eight sixth grade centers were established, new zones were drawn and the sixth grade school ethnic mix was achieved through a combination of ethnic and geographic assignment. The WIEDS Project inter-

views were conducted at Austin, Anderson, and Reagan High Schools; at Bedichek, Dobie, and Murchison Junior High Schools; and at Baker, Blanton, and Webb Sixth Grade Centers.

AISD is expected to present semi-annual reports to Fifth Circuit Court Judge Roberts on the status of their desegregation efforts. All plans which have been approved by the courts have been primarily based on numbers (ethnic percentages) of students and faculty, with lesser attention given to curriculum development. According to the district's Desegregation Specialist, AISD is currently within the compliance guidelines for its ethnic distribution of staff, despite the difference between the current number of Mexican-American teachers (12%) and students (24%).

Three separate written orders have ensued from the Federal District Court (September 4, 1970; June-July, 1971; August 1, 1973) concerning the AISD desegregation case. A third trial is now pending in District Court on remand from the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The district's request to the Fifth Circuit Court for a rehearing on its rule of intentional segregation of Mexican-American students is currently pending. In addition, AISD is appealing the Fifth Circuit's decision to the U. S. Supreme Court.

While the case is still pending, minority intervenors are developing point-by-point concessions they want in return for a possible out-of-court settlement of the seven year dispute. The intervenors have recently indicated that they may be willing to settle for less than total desegregation of the entire school system. According to the Austin American-Statesman, MALDEF will probably seek the following concessions:

- Construction of a new Johnston High School in East Austin.
- Retention of neighborhood elementary schools.

- Balanced, two-way busing of students in grades 7-12.
- "Heavy" enrichment, particularly in the areas of reading and bilingual programs.

Although NAACP has not specified demands, issues that concern them include:

- Emphasis on "Quality education and a certain amount of desegregation" in grades K-3.
- Desegregation in grades 4-5.
- Shared desegregation burden (i.e., balanced, two-way busing).
- Establishment of a junior high school to serve the Black population in East Austin.
- Some action to offset the current busing of many Black students out of East Austin.

Of the initial offices and programs developed to address desegregation, some have expanded to meet increasing needs while others have become less active as the crisis intervention stage of Austin integration has passed. The evolution of offices and programs within AISD is addressed in the following paragraphs.

The Office of Human Relations was initially active in human relations training for staff (see Frequency Counts, #9). As the demand for district-wide staff training became less pressing, personnel on individual campuses were developing and conducting their own workshops, or engaging consultants from many different sources to work with them. Today, the Coordinator of Human Relations provides more individualized services, e.g., helps an individual teacher who has a grievance to solve the particular problem, works with principals on request (see Frequency Counts, #11). According to one interviewee, the onset of desegregation was the first time AISD addressed the issue of human relations in the schools; now it is as integral to their operation as the academic work.

The Office of Staff Development and Student Teaching continues to

offer ISE workshops which provide many principals with the necessary stimulation to develop their own staff development at the campus level (see Frequency Counts, #22 and #23).

In addition to its many intervention and prevention components (OSA, Diagnostic Intervention Program, Managing Classrooms Positively, Visiting Teachers), the Office of Student Development (formerly Counseling and Guidance) is also in charge of Psychological Associates, who administer thorough individualized testing batteries to students, and the Local Support Team (LST) of sixth grade counselors. The Office of Student Affairs, which was involved more in crisis intervention and direct counseling services during the initial years of desegregation, now operates more as a referral and problem-solving agent to assist students who are having social adjustment problems in school.

The 1976-77 OSA annual discipline report demonstrates fewer appeals on disciplinary decisions and a reduction in number and longevity of long-term suspensions district-wide despite slight increases in disciplinary actions throughout the year at all levels. An 18% increase in short-term suspension has occurred at the junior high level. Minority students continue to receive the majority of disciplinary actions at all levels. Male students continue to receive substantially more disciplinary actions in all categories at all levels. Female students are increasingly visible in district statistics, especially at the junior high school level. Significant differences exist among AISD schools between the rate of disciplinary incidences and the numbers of disciplinary actions administered. District-wide figures indicate that for 1976-77:

- 111 or 1.18% of Black students were long-term suspended.
- 98 or .28% of Anglo students were long-term suspended.

- 107 or .78% of Mexican-American students were long-term suspended.
- 48 or 16.16% of those students recommended for long-term suspension had been identified as eligible for special education services.

The following statements regarding ethnicity are summarized from the 1976-77 discipline report:

Elementary Level:
Although there was no significant difference in the number of reasons stated for minority and majority students, majority students received fewer disciplinary actions. Anglos received corporal punishment more frequently (2:1 ratio) for the same behaviors that resulted in short-term suspensions for Blacks. Only Black students received long-term suspensions. Of all the reasons for disciplinary action reported, 14% were descriptive of Mexican-American students' behavior.

Sixth Grade Level:
Of the total number of incidents reported for misbehavior, 57% were descriptive of Black students, 21% of Mexican-Americans, and 22% of Anglos. Only Black males received long-term suspensions.

Junior High Level:
Of the incidents reported for misbehavior, 79% were for minority students, with minority males being more frequently disciplined than any other group. Black males had the highest incident rate for long-term suspensions.

High School Level:
Corporal punishment was rarely used as a disciplinary method at this level, with short-term suspension being the major disciplinary measure employed. Of the total number of reasons reported for long-term suspensions, 38.5% were descriptive of Anglos, 30.7% of Blacks, and 30.6% of Mexican-Americans. Even though Anglo students had more reasons stated for long-term suspensions, they received fewer long-term suspensions. Mexican-American males received more long-term suspensions due to drug-related incidents than any other group of students. Of the total number of behavioral incidents reported, minority students were reported for 68.8% of them. Anglo females were the only females that received corporal punishment. Black males were suspended more frequently than any other group. Mexican-American males were more frequently long-term suspended for drug/alcohol/smoking behavior than any other group.

The current discipline policy, and its implementation, facilitates broader discretionary possibilities for principals in determining more reasonable alternatives for handling unmanageable behavior. For example,

the 1975 policy mandated long-term suspension for the duration of the school year for some behaviors (drug abuse), even if it was the student's first offense. Generally, this resulted in a duration of approximately 3-6 months for suspensions. The existing policy allows the principal to recommend long-term suspension for a lesser duration of 4-10 days for the same offense. The obvious benefit is a shorter interruption of the student's educational progress. In addition, appropriate, supportive follow-up services related to the student's discipline problem can be applied through the educational setting rather than while completing the suspension.

In all of the 1976-77 long-term suspensions, specific follow-up services were provided to assist each student in finding more acceptable ways to cope with individual problems. These recommendations developed only after careful study of what apparent needs existed, what alternatives had been applied previously and their respective success or failure, which additional strategies existed that might be applied, and what options other than AISD support services might also be available. The student, parents, and school personnel were all involved in determining these recommendations.

An alternative to suspension (a "successful strategy" for desegregation since so many minorities are involved in disciplinary problems) is the On Campus Suspension Center (OCSC) program introduced into the district in the summer of 1974. Twenty schools have some form of OCSC, isolated from on-going campus activities, where the student has an opportunity to reflect on his/her behavior and develop a plan for avoiding such behavior in the future. The OSA suggested implementing the OCSC's with a Reality Therapy approach (asking students to assume responsibility

for their behavior and its consequence), but, in actuality, the schools vary in the consistency and manner in which their OCSC's are regulated. The overall purpose of the OCSC's was to (1) help teachers deal with students' misbehavior in a more honest, effective fashion, and (2) reduce the number of suspensions from school. A comprehensive study conducted by the AISD Office of Research and Evaluation (ORE) in May 1977 delineated implementation problems and recommendations for the OCSC's. In this report, administrators commented that the OCSC provided an additional strategy to detention, corporal punishment, and suspension. It was generally used after detention and prior to suspension. Other cited strengths of the OCSC included: providing relief to teachers and aiding classroom management; isolating students from their peers while giving them a quiet place to work on assignments; and, reinforcing contractual commitments between students and staff.

An interesting observation made by one of the central office interviewees regarding discipline was that the schools that have warm, supportive administrations and which fostered a lot of human relations work in the early years of desegregation, have ironically witnessed a greater number of discipline problems involving minorities through the later years than the schools governed by traditional, authoritarian-type administrations. This finding contradicted the overwhelming concensus that the development of interpersonal skills on the part of educators enhanced "successful desegregation."

Today, the Office of School-Community Relations subsumes responsibility for Community Education, supervising 8-10 community schools, the Summer Enrichment Program, the Community Liaison Representative Program, and the Student Activity Program. The last two, along with the Secondary

Reading and Staff Development Program, continue to be supported, all or partially, by ESAA funding.

The Summer Enrichment Program operated the first year for 1 1/2 months, the second year for 2 months, not at all the following year due to lack of funds, and last year for one month. Originally funded by ESAA, last year the SEP was supported by other federal and local sources. The program has been, in this sense, rather unstable. Last year there were 130 students enrolled in the SEP which was conducted in four locations. A positive composite evaluation from each SEP teacher, including pre/post California Achievement Test scores and evidence of increased coping skills, has often prompted principals to promote SEP students to the next grade (although completion of the SEP is not an automatic guarantee of promotion). For 1978, the SEP will be more academically-oriented, focusing extensively on reading and math skills, with some survival and coping skills.

ESAA has traditionally been designed for direct services to students, and, therefore, has provided its grantees with little money for evaluation. In the past, AISD has contracted with a third party to conduct evaluation of its ESAA programs. The most recent assessment consists of attitudinal questionnaires, social situation frequency surveys, etc. administered to students and staff, as well as inventories and pre/post tests in academic skills and enrollment figures for students. Due to the limitations inherent in some methods, AISD is planning to conduct its own evaluation for the 1977-78 project year.

The SCLRP continues to support the nine-member tri-ethnic team which works in grades 6-12 to improve the relationships among ethnic groups and serves as an interface between the school system and the community at large,

stressing curriculum development and human relations activities (Partners Club, retreats, assemblies). The program is particularly active at the junior high level. Currently, they sponsor Trilogy, a tri-ethnic dramatic group whose performances highlight communication problems across cultural lines in the school setting. One interviewee felt that Trilogy is an effective measure toward increased desegregation. The SCLRP intends to move, in the future, into the community via neighborhood centers which would function for clusters of schools and coordinate with other ESAA programs in providing consultative services.

The data collected for 1976-77 indicated that for those students sampled, there was evidence that instructional principles of positive human relations were taught in the workshops and retreats. It was difficult to conclude the extent of students' increased knowledge about ethnic groups as a result of Trilogy. Strictly speaking, the objective was not met since half of the students were not able to state in their own words two goals of Trilogy. More than 50% of the parents contacted, regarding the parental assistance part of the program, were receiving immediate, directive and effective service.

It appears that the Student Activity Program will be phased out from ESAA funding and become 100% locally supported. The SAP continues to recruit and support minority involvement in activities. A currently successful project involves the Summer Band Program, provided free of charge to all junior high school students. In effect, this provides minority students with the similar musical instruction their Anglo counterparts often receive in private lessons.

Judging from the data supplied to the evaluator in 1976-77, minority enrollment in student activities increased by more than 10%. In addition,

40% of minority students who were new to student activities, indicated a positive reaction to their experience, although these results were not generalizable since random samples of students were not obtained. The extent of knowledge, by students of activities, could not be evaluated because no pre-measure was administered. However, the results of a questionnaire administered in March indicated that the specified number (60%) of sixth graders in this sample could name at least one student activity, although only 42% could cite the purpose of at least one student activity.

The largest ESAA-funded program, the Secondary Reading and Staff Development Program, continues its staff development work in reading skills in all secondary schools and its reading program in all secondary schools except Murchison and O. Henry Junior Highs (these two schools ranked last in need) due to funding shortages this year. The program is varied in its method of implementation at each school; some Reading Resource Specialists use a lab approach, pulling students out of the classroom to work on their reading skills, while others use the team approach, working within the classroom with the teacher, either presenting a special lesson that day or giving extra attention to the targeted students. Currently, 3,000 students are served by the SRSDP.

Of the SRSDP students evaluated last year, 74% decreased their word attack errors on the Informal Reading Inventory by 30% or more, exceeding by 24% the percentage of decrease specified in the assessment objectives. In like manner, 78% decreased their comprehension errors by 30%, exceeding the percentage criterion by 39%. The goal, of 35% of the tutoring program students receiving a higher grade in one content area for one grading period, was exceeded by 40%.

Teachers and principals indicated that they received useful training in the staff development part of the program. Over 96% of the teachers and all of the principals stated that they thought the program should be funded next year.

In addition to these continuing programs, ESAA has also been funding pilot projects within the schools. One pilot that has been in operation for the past three years, involved the use of well-trained aides to assist the teachers in minority-isolated schools. The teacher's time could be more evenly dispersed in the classroom while the aide assisted students who needed individualized attention. The program was evaluated positively by the teachers, but since no improvement in student achievement was demonstrated by the target population, it was discontinued this year.

A new ESAA Pilot Project for Writing Skills Development this year involves working with Black children in six predominantly minority schools (K-5) to use their idiosyncratic "Black dialect" as a basis for learning to read and write standard English. Rather than attempting to "correct" the vernacular rules employed by these children in their speech patterns, the teacher recognizes them as sensible and makes use of them in teaching these students how to read. At the ninth grade level, which is lowest in the district for students' mastery in written comprehension, similar strategies are being used to assist Black students in the development of writing skills. This project currently serves over 900 students.

Also new to AISD this year are other programs which can be viewed as "desegregation strategies" to the extent that they affect many minority students. They included:

Elementary Level:

- Happy Talk Program - a home-based instructional program for

young children (1-3 years old). Community representatives, using toys and books, demonstrate oral language patterns and essential concepts to the mothers of the participating children during weekly home visits. Serves 80 families from six school areas.

• Essential Student Competency Development - to assist educationally disadvantaged students, student competencies, in terms of concepts and skills to be mastered at different school levels, were identified. Materials are being evaluated at existing Title I schools to see which ones address the skills recognized by the competencies.

• Children's Literature - a series of tapes of children's stories provide opportunities to enhance children's appreciation of literature in Title I schools.

• At-Home Program - conducted in 8 Title I schools to involve parents in the educational process of their children. Each child receives a kit, stressing reading skills at his/her assessed level, from the schools to complete and mail to the At-Home address in Baltimore, Md. Corrected tests are returned to the students each week.

• (Title I) Reading Improvement Program - with the emphasis on improvement of basic skills in reading/oral language development, 20 schools are recipients of Title I funds for the school year 1977-78. Three different structural models are being implemented:

1) Expanded Laboratory Approach - emphasizes an increase in the number of professional staff for direct instructional purposes, and a reduction of aides. Employing a variety of reading programs in a small group setting, schools using this model have requested the employment of a children's literature curriculum.
2) Vocabulary in Action - designed by Psychotechnics Inc., of Illinois, reading skills are taught in both the classroom and the reading laboratory through "multisensory experiences," i.e., educational activities that involve more than just the traditional skills of reading and speaking. Includes listening to tapes, use of projectors with various kinds of media, and exercises involving motor activities.
3) Individualized Skills Approach - through the use of an informal reading inventory, a teacher diagnoses reading difficulties and subsequently prescribes a remedial plan.

• Architecture in the Schools - a matching grant from district pilot project with Arts and Humanities provides for an environmental designer to work with students and teachers on improving the environment.

• Box of Reading Ideas - a parental involvement reading program now being developed for distribution in 1978-79 to Title I primary and intermediate level children. Once a week, the child

will take home a reading activity card with suggestions for cooperative parent/child activities. Also, a booklet designed to help parents understand school programs and their child's development will be distributed monthly.

• Kindergarten Aides (CETA) - ten aides, in classrooms at different campuses where there are substantial percentages of educationally disadvantaged children, free the teacher to spend more time with such children in direct instruction. Upon completion of training, the aides will be qualified to serve in this capacity in early childhood settings within Austin.

• Extended Day - early morning program that provides structured enrichment to students whose parents deliver them early to the campus.

• Mathews Gifted Program - a local pilot project designed to encourage minority students who are gifted in the arts through after school instruction in arts, dance, and music by local artists.

• Library Teaching Modules - a local pilot project at Read Sixth Grade Center designed to encourage students to read through special activities in the library.

• Non-Graded Individualized Instruction - funded through a local pilot project and designed to ease the transition of minority Kindergarten students into first grade at Allison Elementary School.

• Culinary Curriculum - a local pilot project at Govalle Elementary School (predominantly Mexican-American) designed to teach mathematics and science through cooking activities.

• City Games Project - social studies activities of "things to do around Austin," cooperatively developed by AISD and Laguna Gloria as supplements to the "City Unit" being piloted at each sixth grade center. To be revised this Spring and new packets distributed in the Fall of 1978.

Elementary and Secondary Levels:

• Special Counseling Materials - provided to Title I and locally funded counselors working with educationally disadvantaged children. Emphasis is on small group sessions, with the goal of enhancing self-concept as well as academic and social skills through various techniques.

Secondary Level:

• Students With it All Together (SWAT) - a program at Allan Junior High School (predominantly Mexican-American) designed to alleviate discipline problems, by reinforcing desirable

behavioral patterns through a rewards/recognition system.

- Texas Alliance for Minorities in Engineering (TAME) - sponsored by AISD and several national and state business organizations, this program is designed to motivate the minority student at the high school level to enter the engineering field. Serves 300 students through scholarships and summer jobs.

- Guidance Center - located in the Martin Junior High (predominantly Mexican-American) area, this program is designed to reach potential dropouts throughout the school district. Has a strong parental component and involvement of various city and county agencies.

The Special Late Bus Transportation for Special Activities continues to provide late buses to transport East Austin students who have to remain at school to rehearse or participate in activities. The SLB tries to meet individual needs as they arise (e.g., an additional bus might go out if a special late night activity is scheduled). As mentioned earlier, the SLB provides an invaluable service as a desegregation strategy, but is also conversely viewed as a segregation strategy (i.e., the participation of the students is limited by the bus schedule) (see Frequency Counts, #27). Several interviewees also indicated that the SLB could offer improved service by being tailored to each individual school's needs.

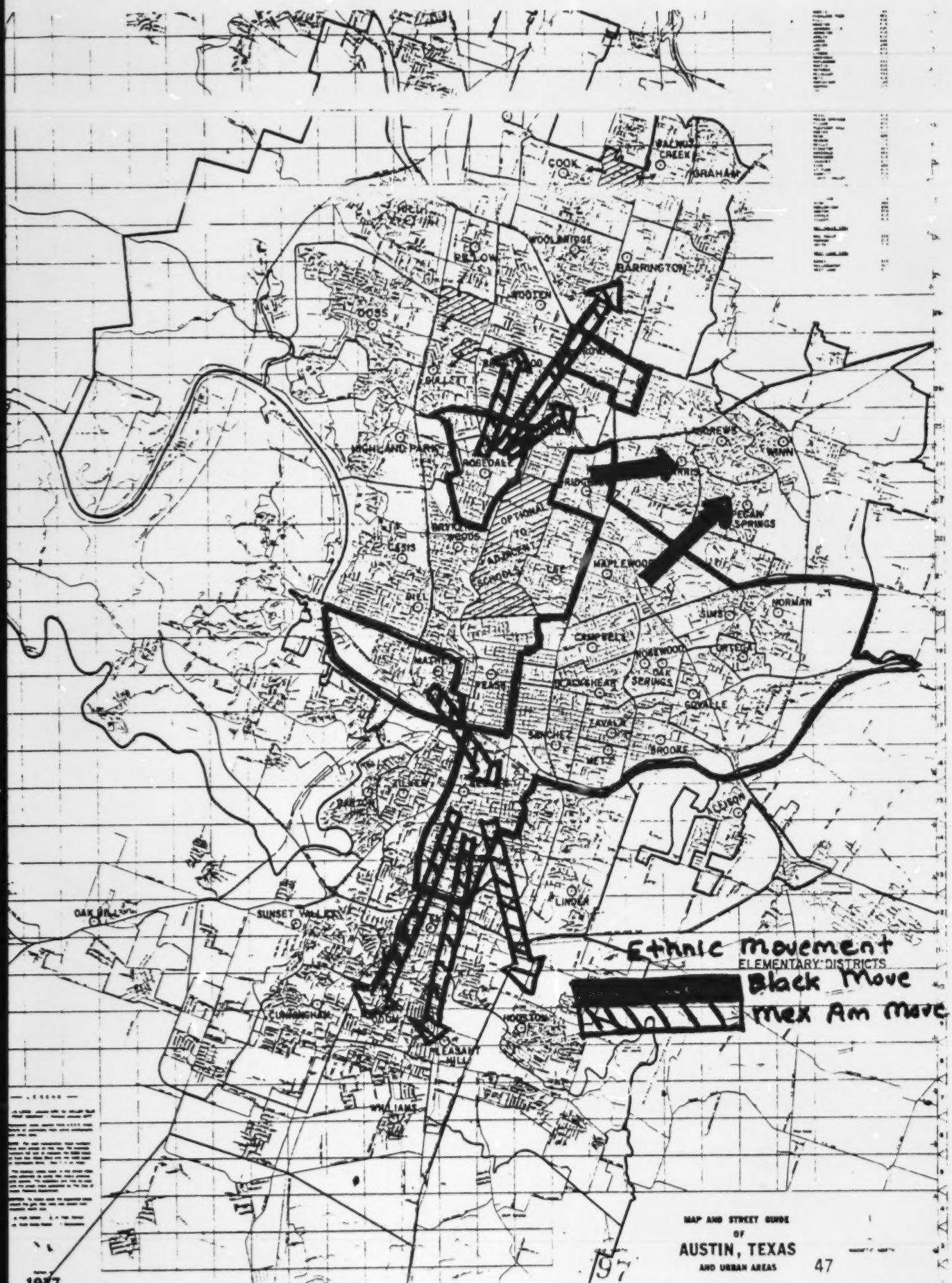
AISD is continuing to develop curriculum plans geared toward its Mexican-American student population even though no court order has mandated that Mexican Americans be considered a statistically separate group. The Mexican-American interviewee felt that the bilingual program was not "up to date" and needed to be infused more into the entire district curriculum, as opposed to remaining solely in predominantly Mexican-American schools.

Other ways in which multiethnicity is being addressed in the schools is through Culture Fairs (celebrating peoples and customs of many dif-

ferent cultures), Black History Month (formerly Black History Week), celebration of Cinco de Mayo, and on individual campuses a tremendous growth in both Black and Chicano Heritage Clubs. Again, the value of such clubs as desegregation strategies is open to debate; one interviewee indicated that he knew of two principals who would not allow them because they, in effect, segregate the minority groups who almost exclusively comprise the clubs' memberships--even so, as others contend, the clubs foster awareness and acceptance of diverse cultures. Other special ethnic and minority days given attention in the schools include Mexican Independence Day, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, American Indian Day, Emancipation Proclamation, Japanese Era New Year, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, Chinese New Year, Susan B. Anthony Day, and others.

III. Summary of Future Plans for Desegregation in AISD (Stage III)

While the AISD desegregation case has been resting in the courts, changes in housing patterns have been occurring in the Austin community. East Austin has long been recognized as having a heavy minority and low socioeconomic status (SES) concentration. In ensuing years, some minority movement into adjoining areas has occurred as supported by dropping enrollments in East Austin schools. Brown, Dawson, Maplewood, Ridgetop, and Rosedale Elementary Schools have become Title I recipients as low SES students have moved into these areas (see map on following page for locations of ethnic movement). The emerging pattern, as documented by a recent study entitled Ethnic Movement Within Austin by the Compensatory Planner for AISD indicates a "white flight" out of these Title I zones. Although unable to follow this "white flight," the study documented the movement of minority and low SES students into other formerly Anglo areas (including St. Elmo, Pleasant Hill, Pecan Springs,


COOK
BARRINGTON
WOOLDEN
DOBBS
HIGHLAND PARK
ROSEDALE
OPTIONAL
TO
ADJACENT
SCHOOLS
LEE
MAPLEWOOD
NORMAN
SIMS
CAMPBELL
ROSEWOOD
ORTEGA
OAK SPRINGS
GOVALLE
ZAVALA
BROOKE
SANCHEZ
METZ
LINDER
SUNSET VALLEY
OAK HILL
CUNNINGHAM
WILLIAMS
Ethnic Movement
ELEMENTARY DISTRICTS
Black Move
Mex Am Move
MAP AND STREET GUIDE
OF
AUSTIN, TEXAS
AND URBAN AREAS
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1977

Reilly, and Brentwood districts).

As indicated on the map, Mexican-American students are moving into South Austin and Northwest Austin, while Black students are moving into Northeast Austin. Anglos are moving from these areas in increasing numbers. A further AISD study is being proposed to determine what types of stresses are being created in these neighborhoods as the Austin population redistributes itself.

A common trend, mentioned by the interviewees, involved the need for other community and civic organizations to share the responsibility for desegregation which has historically been placed on the schools (see Frequency Counts, #39). Organizations, such as the Austin Alliance for Smooth Transition (AAST), are rallying support to encourage real estate agents and developers, who often sell homes on the basis of the school district in which they are located, to integrate mono-racial neighborhoods. Their aim is to eliminate the need for busing by attaining relatively stable, integrated housing patterns. The AAST is also soliciting the City Council, City Administration, and AISD School Board to cooperate in fostering "real integration" in their determination of growth patterns, development permits, and new school site construction.

Another frequently mentioned trend from the interviewees involved the issue of AISD's lack of planning for future integration (particularly at the elementary level) short of court-mandated decisions (see Frequency Counts, #31). Although many of the central office personnel made statements like "virtually nothing is being done by AISD to prepare for future integration," some went on to indicate alternative approaches or future plans that either they themselves or their respective offices were researching. To the extent that these interviewees are current AISD

administrative personnel implementing decisions within the district, future integration plans are being enacted. The many developmental programs already mentioned as operant at the elementary level to assist minority students with academic development and to assist all students in social development attest to the integration strategies being implemented apart from a direct court order. The "Magic Circle," developed by Uvalo Paolo Morris of the Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children, is a strategy mentioned by one interviewee and two other sources as successful. Keyed to younger children, the technique involved the development of social and academic skills by means of presenting sequential items for discussion within a group-process setting.

What these interviewees may be indicating is that final approval and lack of action on the part of the School Board on any pre-court-ordered decisions regarding future integration is counter-productive to the progressive development of a true sense of cultural pluralism within the schools.

Additional future plans mentioned by the interviewees, as currently being researched and considered for their adaptability to Austin's demographic needs, included:

- Educational Park - a centrally-located learning complex which all students would attend.
- Alternative Schools - for students with special needs (mainly minorities at present) not being met by traditional schools. Would involve individualized curricula, particularly at the junior and senior high school levels.
- Magnet Schools - a quality program in some special interest area (e.g., fine arts) designed to attract multiethnic groups of students to a particular school. A proposal had been submitted to convert Johnston High School (predominantly Mexican-American) into a cooperative business university magnet school, but it was not funded. The intention was to increase the expectation of the minority students at Johnston who have had little

exposure to professions, while at the same time attracting Anglo students with similar interests into the area.

These and other proposed plans were mentioned in the interviews, not as "cure-alls" for the problems of desegregation, but as potential resources which might fill some of the needs for Austin.

Conclusions

It appears, from the AISD central office interviews, that specific "successful desegregation strategies" fall into four major areas:

(1) Support - of top-level and central office administrators, campus administrators, faculty, parents, and community members is directly related to the ease and success of desegregation implementation. Support fosters adequate planning.

(2) Human Relations Training - to increase interpersonal communication and acceptance across ethnic groups, it is suggested for all levels of individuals involved in the educational system--students, teachers, administrators, parents and community members. Human relations work fosters understanding and support for desegregation while eliminating the racism and divisiveness which hinder it.

(3) Academic Skill Development - through special programs aimed at the needs of educationally disadvantaged students (typically minorities), who might otherwise not be able to function as viable members of the student body. Increased opportunities provide them with increased possibilities in their later adult roles.

(4) Social Skill Development - through special programs aimed at the needs of students having adjustment problems both at school and home. Helping students develop productive means of coping and problem-solving frees them to develop their academic potentials.

Schools will be limited in their successful desegregation strategies based on the extent to which society-at-large has racially integrated and evolved in other ways (see Frequency Counts, #39). A consistent theme of the central office interviews is the need for parental involvement and concern for their children's development in and out of school. Informed, healthy parenting appears to be as integral to society's functional

stability as is quality childhood education.

The issue of race involves social and economic concerns as well. Habitually, minority groups have held lower SES positions on the social ladder. The fact that they are in the minority means that decisions concerning their welfare are often made by the ruling class majority. The interviews point to the need for community education to promote the idea of the desirability and benefits of a culturally pluralistic state (see Frequency Counts, #35). Accomplishing this would entail increased support and commitment on the part of the Anglo population to achieve a more balanced economic distribution of society members of all ethnic groups.

The goal of multiethnicity does not imply a melting pot where the differences among ethnic groups become indistinguishable, but rather where they retain their vitality as essential components of the pluralistic whole. Several interviewees indicated evidences that this type of progression may be occurring in the Austin schools (e.g., observations of students using the terms "honky" or "nigger" as terms of familiarity and acceptance of friends of different ethnicities rather than as racial slurs).

To what additional extent students and staff of different ethnic groups have learned to accept and value ethnic diversity within the Austin schools will be discussed in the following sections of this report.

SUMMARY CHART OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON CENTRAL OFFICE INTERVIEWS

	Interviewee													
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Race[1]	A	A	A	A	A	SS	B	A	B	A	B	A	A	B
Sex	F	M	M	M	F	F	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M
Age	40s	50s	30s	30s	30s	40s	50s	40s	20s	30s	50s	30s	40s	40s
Position[2]	D	D	C	C	C	CA	AS	D	C	C	C	D	AD	C
Experience[3]														
Years in present position	2	X	7	2	4	2	4	8	4	1	7	8	6	4
Years in Central Office	7	X	7	2	6	0	7	8	4	5	7	8	X	4
Years in AISD	8	X	7	6	11	19	19	8	4	5	7	8	16	11
Interviewer[4]	AM1	AM1	AF2	AF2	AF1	AM1	BM1	AF1	AF2	AF1	BM1	AM1	AM1	AF2
Focus of desegregation concern[5]	1	3	3	5	5	4	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	2

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[1] A=Anglo, B=Black, SS=Spanish Surname

[2] D=Director, C=Coordinator, CA=Campus Administrator, S=Superintendent, A=Assistant

[3] X=did not address in interview

[4] AM1=Anglo male (33 years old), BM1=Black male (44 years old), AF1=Anglo female (36 years old), AF2=Anglo female (29 years old)

[5] 1=Anglo/Black only, 2=Anglo/Black primarily, 3=Anglo/Black/Mexican-American, 4=Anglo/Mexican-American primarily, 5=not specified

SUMMARY CHART OF FREQUENCY COUNTS
ON ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE CENTRAL OFFICE INTERVIEWS

	YES	NO	DID NOT ADDRESS
HISTORICAL CONCERNS			
1. AISD has tried voluntary (without court order) desegregation.	4	1	9
2. AISD waits for a court order before acting on desegregation issues.	4	4	6
3. The AISD desegregation of the teaching staff was voluntary (without court order).	2	2	10
4. AISD voluntarily recruited Mexican-American teachers during the initial years of desegregation.	2	0	12
5. AISD made an effort voluntarily to place minorities in "non-token" administrative and central office positions.	1	2	11
6. The short notice between the July, 1971 order to bus and the August, 1971 school opening hindered the development of adequate desegregation strategies.	3	0	11
7. Superintendent Davidson was seen as an implementer of school desegregation.	7	0	7
8. There was some preparation of the staff with the first busing order.	5	2	7
9. There was formal sensitivity training of the teachers, principals, or counselors out of the Office of Human Relations in the first one or two years after the first busing order.	6	0	8
10. Those staff members most needing human relations training were not the ones who volunteered.	2	0	12
11. The various central offices (e.g., Student Affairs, Staff Development) received requests to conduct additional training at specific schools.	7	0	7

FREQUENCY COUNTS (cont'd)

		YES	NO	DID NOT ADDRESS
12.	During the initial years of desegregation there was adequate planning and preparation of the staff and students for the changes being experienced.	6	4	4
13.	There were negative repercussions of busing.	7	0	7
14.	The greatest number of desegregation-related problems occurred at the high school level.	3	0	11
15.	Crisis intervention strategies were used in the early years of court-ordered desegregation.	7	0	7
16.	It is important, in order to facilitate desegregation, to have a supportive, humanistic administration at the campus level.	2	0	12
17.	The degree to which a school had an active human relations/multi-ethnic awareness program determined its success in desegregation.	3	0	11
	CURRENT OR RECENT PROGRAMS			
18.	The bilingual program is successful.	3	0	11
19.	The bilingual program is only successful as a desegregation strategy in relation to the manner in which it is implemented, i.e., there's a chance of resegregation.	2	0	12
20.	A basic skills development program is only successful as a desegregation strategy in relation to the manner in which it is implemented, i.e., it can lead to resegregation.	3	0	11
21.	The interviewee believes, or has heard principals state, that LET or ISE provides valuable training.	2	0	12
22.	ISE continues to offer an impetus for local principals and administrators to develop and offer their own workshops.	2	0	12
23.	There continues to be staff training provided by the various central offices.	3	0	11

FREQUENCY COUNTS (cont'd)

		YES	NO	DID NOT ADDRESS
24.	Many teachers and their families resented the teacher crossovers.	3	0	11
25.	The teacher crossovers, though resented at first, have been accepted by teachers and are now benefiting the schools and the communities.	1	1	12
26.	Busing has positive long term effects on the children in the area of desegregation, including a promotion of acceptance among the races and a decreasing of hostilities.	2	1	11
27.	Extracurricular participation of the students who use the Special Late Bus is limited by the rigid bus schedule.	1	1	12
28.	There is active recruitment of minorities into school activities (e.g., as initiated by the SAP).	4	0	10
29.	The Office of Student Affairs has been successful in diminishing students' race-related disciplinary problems.	6	0	8
	CURRENT TRENDS			
30.	The interviewee differentiates between the concepts of "desegregation" (the mixing of bodies) and "integration" (the development of cultural pluralism).	8	2	4
31.	AISD has demonstrated a lack of planning for future (elementary) desegregation.	2	1	11
32.	If minority students felt a greater sense of pride or involvement in their school they might experience fewer discipline problems or greater academic performance.	9	0	5
33.	The burden of desegregation has been placed on the minorities.	5	0	9
34.	Teachers have had problems dealing with the culturally-specific behaviors of other-race students.	4	0	10

FREQUENCY COUNTS (cont'd)

	YES	NO	DID NOT ADDRESS
FUTURE NEEDS			
35. There is a need for community education to promote the idea of the benefits of cultural pluralism.	5	0	9
36. There is a need for parental involvement in the schools.	7	0	7
37. There is a need for parenting skills and parent education.	3	0	11
38. Two-way busing would be more equitable for, or tolerated by, the minorities.	6	0	8
39. Integration cannot be accomplished in the schools apart from other institutions (e.g., churches, housing patterns); i.e., there is a need for other community and civic organizations to share the responsibility for desegregation.	9	0	5

Compilation of Data from AISD Principal and Teacher Interviews

Introduction

In addition to the 14 interviews with individuals in AISD's Central Office, Project WIEDS was referred to 9 schools for further interviewing of principals and teachers: 3 high schools, 3 junior high schools, and 3 sixth grade centers. No elementary (grades 1-5) sites were chosen as only grades 6-12 have been affected by court-ordered desegregation in Austin. The schools, where interviews were conducted, were chosen on the basis of the receptivity to a project such as WIEDS and recommendations from selected AISD personnel. No East Austin schools (predominantly minorities) were selected. In general, four interviews were conducted at each school to include the principal, two or three teachers, and sometimes a counselor or other administrator. The principals were interviewed first and they in turn referred to WIEDS staff the teachers, counselors, etc. who had been particularly active in desegregation efforts and concerns at their respective schools.

Because each school had its own particular demography (average daily attendance, SES of neighborhood residents, feeder areas for bused students) as well as sociological climate and staff ideology, the data were compiled in narrative form for each school, collapsing across all professional levels of persons interviewed. In addition, at the end of each set of three schools per grade(s) level, a summary chart was given, delineating successful strategies common to each level according to the type of strategy (Administrative/Governance, Staff Development, Teaching/Learning) and the historical perspective of its implementation. The following out-

line was used:

Outline - School Site Interviews

I. Sixth Grade Centers
   A. Baker
   B. Blanton
   C. Webb
   D. Summary chart: Strategies for Sixth Grade Centers

II. Junior High Schools
   A. Bedichek
   B. Dobie
   C. Murchison
   D. Summary chart: Strategies for Junior High Schools

III. High Schools
   A. Anderson
   B. Austin
   C. Reagan
   D. Summary chart: Strategies for High Schools

A total of 36 individuals were interviewed at the nine campuses by seven members of the WIEDS staff: AF#2 conducted eight interviews, AF#3 one interview, AF#4 three interviews, AM#1 three interviews, AM#2 eleven interviews, BM#1 one interview, and BM#2 nine interviews. The one interview by BM#1 did not record properly and was repeated by AF#4 (this second interview was not included in the tally above as the interviewee was the same for both interviews). Two other interviews (one done by AM#2, the other by BM#2) did not record and were not repeated. They were deleted, therefore, from the data analysis. Some attempt was made to assign the Black interviewers to the Black interviewees, although this practice was not strictly adhered to as availability of staff members for interviewing varied. In general, interviewer assignment to interviewee was arranged at random by the WIEDS secretary.

At the sixth grade level, twelve interviews were conducted, including one which was deleted due to equipment malfunction. The remaining eleven

interviewees included eight Anglo females, one Anglo male, and two Black females. At the junior high level, twelve interviews were conducted to include three Anglo females, five Anglo males, one Black female, one Black male, one Spanish surname female, and one Spanish surname male. At the high school level, twelve interviews were conducted including one which was deleted due to equipment malfunction. The remaining eleven included four Anglo females, four Black males, two Spanish surname females, and one Spanish surname male.

The total of 34 interviews for which school site data has been compiled included information from the following: fifteen Anglo females, six Anglo males, three Black females, five Black males, three Spanish surname females, and two Spanish surname males. Further information on interviewees, as well as interviewer-interviewee pairings, is presented in the summary charts for each grade level.

SIXTH GRADE CENTERS

Baker

The Baker School, centrally located in Austin, had previously operated both as an elementary and as a junior high school. At the time of the 1973 court order, establishing the Sixth Grade Centers, Baker was being used for storage purposes only. The school reopened in August, 1973 with approximately 500 students in attendance and 75-85% of the students were bused for desegregation purposes.

The current enrollment at Baker is 465 students. About 60 of these are majority to minority transfers (see Program Commitments 1973 under Central Office narrative pp. 21-22) consisting mostly of Mexican-American children who would normally not be assigned to Baker. The ethnic representation of the school is 64% Anglo, 10% Black, and 26% Mexican-American which closely reflects the overall ethnic ratios of AISD. Due to its central location, Baker serves the largest geographic area of sixth grade centers, and has students from all social and economical backgrounds in attendance.

More than 50% of the Mexican-American students are bused, while 75% of the Black students are bused. There are, at present, 29 faculty members, including several Blacks and one Mexican-American.

Four of these staff members, from various professional levels, were interviewed by three members of the WIEDS team (see Summary Chart p. 74). An interview with one teacher did not record properly and has, therefore, been deleted from this discussion.

The Baker Sixth Grade Center was mentioned by several Central

Office interviewees as one of the "warm, fuzzy schools," characterized by a humanitarian, supportive administration and employing extensive human relations work. The school staff members, who were interviewed, supported this contention. The strategies, implemented for desegregation purposes at Baker, relied heavily on group processes, verbal resolution of conflicts, and support and trust between faculty and students. The three interviewees conceded that the initial years of court-ordered desegregation exposed racial hostilities and violence which was abated by (1) the school's and community's continued exposure to and acceptance of desegregation, and (2) the positive pay-offs of the extensive human relations work done at Baker.

Some of the strategies mentioned as having been successful in dealing with desegregation at Baker Sixth Grade Center include:

- A warm, supportive principal fosters the humanistic development of students and staff.

- Homerooms have been set up heterogeneously to reflect a cross section of the entire school regarding sex, race, academic level, and feeder school representation.

- The homeroom teachers are in four instructional teams and each team has a special education teacher working with it. The students receive social studies and science instruction from their homeroom teacher, which provides them a single teacher to identify with as being "theirs." The children are then assigned to one of the remaining team teachers for language arts and math instruction. Within each room, a teacher may be teaching different sub-groups of children based on grade level, but no room is ever comprised of all children of the same ability. Stigmatization of belonging in the "dummy room" is therefore avoided for lower achievers (typically many minorities). Pupil contact with different teachers (including ethnicity) is increased and teachers work cooperatively. The focus, then, for teachers is on teaching children, not a certain subject.

- Teacher reassignment to meet compliance regulations for H.E.W., though resented at first, has had positive long-term effects relative to integrating the teaching staff.

- The counseling program makes active use of group processes, both in the classroom and the counselor's office. In the early years (1973, 1974), the counselor conducted many crisis intervention activities toward appeasing racial conflicts. Some methods employed here involved modeling and teaching self-disclosure toward dispelling fear of other ethnic groups; gaining the trust of the covert minority leaders by inviting them to participate in some activity (such as piecing together a rug); and, working with the children who were reflecting neighborhood conflicts brought into the school (e.g. "Mary's Mom said your Mom's a bitch"). Uvalo Paolo Morris' Magic Circle technique to foster group discussion and develop communication skills, was introduced into the schools, and is mentioned by the Baker interviewees as highly successful. Along with the creation of the On Campus Suspension Center in 1974, Reality Therapy techniques (getting children to focus on behaviors which get them in trouble and to take responsibility for changing them) were added to Baker's group counseling program.

- The Baker Code, an outgrowth of all of the above, was formulated to let students know what expectations and limitations they are to abide by.

- Various staff development workshops taught the staff alternate means for dealing with students and united the faculty as well in the process. Sample workshops include:

  - 1973 - S.C.L.R.'s, together with the principal, conducted a one day workshop (using Paolo Morris' human development program).

  - 1974 - Inservice training for 3 weeks on Reality Therapy involving reviewing films and tapes as well as reading books School Without Failure, Reality Therapy, and Identity Society by Glasser.

  - 1975-76 - Staff development, for using new State Compensatory Education materials in basic skills, conducted by consultants.

  - Various other workshops were initiated by the principal to discuss ideas/techniques identified as worthwhile.

- A helping teacher was employed during the 1974-75 school year to assist in disciplinary matters, parent contacts, inservice training, etc.

- Parental involvement and concern for their children.

- Other strategies mentioned as particular to individual teachers:

- Taking advantage of students' ethnic backgrounds to enhance content of some lesson (e.g., asking if any student is half French or whose parents can cook French foods, Mexican foods, soul foods, etc.).

- Modeling equal interaction among members of different races by touching and showing affection from time to time to all students.

- Establishing an integrated homeroom seating arrangement for the first 6 weeks of school and thereafter allowing students to pick their own seats, form groups, etc. This teacher noted, that in the classroom, the students tended to voluntarily integrate when given the opportunity.

- Another teacher actually played down integration in her classroom because that contributes to the children's viewing one another as group members rather than as unique individuals.

Baker Sixth Grade Center continues to rely on human relations training and group counseling to foster integration. However, as several interviewees pointed out, these strategies are no longer necessarily isolated by occurring in a separate setting, but have been infused into the daily routine of classroom business. As one teacher noted, certain behaviors are typically displayed by certain racial groups (e.g. Blacks' acting out or threatening behaviors - "Gimme money, or I'll beat you up in the restroom!"; Mexican Americans carrying knives, etc.) and members of other groups may feel uncomfortable or generalize their fear to negative feelings about all members of that group. Teachers are sensitive to these problems and try to recognize their symptomatic undercurrents in the classroom and deal with them there. The interviewees indicated that racial tensions still exist at Baker, although they are not as pronounced. Fights still occur, but the interviewees conceded that these seem to be more of an interpersonal than an interethnic nature. A resegregating effect of busing was mentioned here because children from different neighborhoods who ride

the bus together tend to bond together and bring neighborhood rivalries into the school. By virtue of the segregated housing patterns, these divisions of students appear to manifest themselves racially.

Baker's curriculum content has remained virtually unchanged regarding integration. Several teachers mentioned their concern in dealing with grammatical differences between Black dialect and standard English; one pointed out her own inconsistency by demanding grammatically "correct" English in written but not in spoken work.

Due to the majority of students being bused, Baker, as a sixth grade center, has no extra-curricular activities. Special interest courses, such as rocketry and square dancing, are offered, and are reported as having a positive impact on the students as well as the parents. Some interviewees pointed out that, although the children do integrate in the classroom, they tend to cluster by race on the playground or in the cafeteria. Depending on the interviewee's personal viewpoint, this same race clustering exemplified the need for increased integration, or was a natural phenomenon of peoples' tendencies to group with those who are similar to themselves. Interethnic dating is common; however, some parents have called the school objecting to such behavior.

Baker relies very little on the programs and personnel at Central Office. The teachers utilize resources within their campus to deal with their own problems and provide for their own development. The heavy focus on human relations work, according to those interviewed, appears to have provided Baker with the impetus for success in their desegregation efforts. This humanistic psychology approach is limited, however, to the extent that minorities, as well as many low SES Anglos,

have not regarded themselves as having much control over their fates or valued the idea of accepting responsibility for their behavior. Baker's staff is attempting to teach such values as inherent rights any individual can choose to exercise.

Blanton

An elementary school for grades 1 - 6 before the 1973 court order, Blanton is currently a sixth grade center where the minorities are in a slight majority (52%). It is located in northeast Austin where the Black influx into the neighborhood attendance zone has resulted in no need to bus for integration purposes (refer to map at end of Central Office narrative p. 47). At present, the only students bused to Blanton are those who live more than 2 miles from school but within the attendance zone. The ethnic representation of the present enrollment of 485 students is 48% Anglo, 43% Black, and 9% Mexican-American. Of 22 faculty members, 4 are Black and 2 Mexican-American.

The students attending Blanton are, for the most part, from middle-class families of all races. There are few low SES children in attendance, and therefore, few conflicts across racial/economic lines. As one interviewee stated, "we see ourselves as having virtually no race problems at Blanton; consequently, we are not searching for something to take care of a problem." The only externally funded "program" operating at Blanton is State Compensatory Education which provides for an S.C.E. teacher (who regularly visits each classroom) and special supplies for the mid-range achievers (many minorities, but Anglos as well) in reading and math.

Four individual staff members were interviewed by WIEDS personnel. The interviewees described Blanton as a strict, authoritarian-type

school with high standards in both academic and disciplinary concerns. The principal was mentioned as being a supportive person who encouraged individual teachers to discover and develop their own individual styles for teaching, but at the same time, expected and fostered consistency among staff in adhering to school policies and standards of conduct. Staff harmony was repeatedly mentioned as a strong point at Blanton.

Although not all interviewees at Blanton recognized desegregation or racial problems as existent there, the following strategies were mentioned:

- Funding for special programs, such as E.S.A.A. in the past for library materials, and S.C.E. now for a reading teacher and supplies (books, videotape equipment, etc.). Students receiving S.C.E. assistance at Blanton have shown the greatest improvement in skill development of all sixth grade centers.

- A supportive, consistent principal, who supports the decisions of staff members.

- Students of different ethnic groups are heterogeneously assigned to classrooms, although the interviewees did not mention whether specific seating arrangements within classrooms were assigned for integration purposes.

- A team teaching approach and enrichment courses. A Blanton student has the same teacher all day/year long, except for one hour of daily enrichment which stresses basic skills development in some special interest area (e.g. journalism, geometry) for 6 weeks at a time. Interaction among different students in smaller groups was mentioned as a benefit of enrichment. Teachers teach in pairs in separate quadrants of the building. Every Black teacher now teams with an Anglo, and rooms and teaching partners are changed each year, fostering (interethnic) harmony among staff.

- During some previous years (depending on enrollment and availability of funds) and the present one, a helping teacher assists the principal in discipline, some counseling, etc. There is no formalized O.C.S.C. at Blanton; however, they do make use of "time-out" from the classroom if a student is disruptive. The discipline policies for various offenses are adhered to strictly and consistently.

- Parental involvement in their child's education through:

- Toastmaster's Club - whereby the children give short speeches in weekly meetings to which parents are invited.

- Curriculum Coffees - to explain to parents what the sixth grade math program, for example, entails.

- Culminating activities of certain enrichment courses to which parents are invited (e.g., band concert by music enrichment students during noon hour).

- Use of videotape equipment to present evidence of child's development to parents.

- A Multicultural Board of students from various classrooms who work on community service projects, present programs, etc.

- Since there are no extracurricular activities at Blanton, in addition to enrichment, social parties are held during the year to foster student interaction.

- A Faculty Human Relations Committee works on special projects, sponsors teas, etc.

- A summer program for incoming fifth graders will be held this year to orient them to the Blanton Sixth Grade Center and its procedures.

- Cultural Awareness through sections in text books on racial heritage, activities during Black History week (videotaped programs on such minority "stars" as Willie Mays, bulletin board displays, classroom discussions).

- Some staff development training, such as:

  - Inservice workshops conducted by principal during the early years of Blanton Sixth Grade Center, including human relations training.

  - S.C.E. workshops to train teachers in the use of new materials.

  - A recent values clarification workshop.

- Other strategies mentioned as particular to individual teachers:

  - Using behavior modification principles to reinforce desirable behaviors and ignore undesirable ones in children.

  - Establishing an integrated classroom seating arrangement. The teacher described an incident where an Anglo boy refused to sit beside a Black boy "because everybody knew that they smelled". Her method of handling it was to not make a big issue of it; she told the child if he was that upset he could move. By the end of the year, these two children were relating with no problem.

- Taking advantage of students' ethnic backgrounds to enhance content of classroom work (e.g., asking if any Mexican-American students can help with the pronunciation of a Spanish word).

- Dealing with stereotypes or racist misconceptions children bring "from their parents" into the classroom as they come up (as opposed to doing an isolated unit on cultural stereotyping).

- Using racial labels on children in the classroom to (1) get them used to hearing/accepting them, and (2) fostering pride in their ethnicity. The teacher, at the first of the year, had all students sit in a circle, then called all the Blacks to the center and then exclaimed, "Beautiful little Black children!" Then she did the same with all other races. She reported that the children were reluctant at first to enter the center, as if "admitting" their color, but often go back to their original places beaming with pride.

- Another exercise in getting in touch with one's racial identity involved having the children paint their self-portraits with the teacher offering suggestions on how to mix paint pigments to match skin color - "Now you aren't that Black - go back and put some yellow in there."

- Since many Black students seem to admire the Black teachers as role models, some Anglo teachers reported using Black teachers to assist them in communicating with their Black students.

- Introducing new lessons or activities at the simplest level, so as not to lose the attention/interest of the lower achieving student.

- Patterning poems or rhymes, incorporating cultural awareness or human relations, for the children to complete.

- One teacher reported doing a lot of outside reading and then applying what she read in the classroom.

- Teaching assertiveness, values, and standards to foster independent thinking and respect for others in children (e.g., a bulletin board modeling such phrases as, "If you think you're beaten, you are;" "I am important;" "Every person, regardless of differences, is of value. I must treat him with dignity, understanding, and brotherly love," etc.).

Interviewees seemed to agree that there were few problems, relating to race, at Blanton. Discipline problems appeared to result from personality, rather than racial conflicts. Parents expressed concerns

over academic work and conduct, but rarely one of a racial nature. One interviewee felt that the staff at Blanton had little use for human relations workshops anymore "cause we all get on so well". Another felt a similar lack of need for any programs or strategies to address desegregation; "You can be over-programmed and over-piloted to where you end up not teaching children." And, "The days and weeks aren't long enough to put too many new things into the curriculum."

Several interviewees pointed out that the children do integrate on their own in the classroom, and yet cluster by race in the playground or cafeteria. Others said that it depended on the individual children--some seem to congregate or feel more comfortable with same race peers, while others choose friends from all ethnic groups. This same clustering phenomenon was also observed of the Black teachers in the faculty lounge.

All interviewees expressed positive feelings for their school. Their esteem for the quality education offered at Blanton was also apparent. The "naturally" integrated neighborhood setting, together with the unified staff and structured routine, stood out as the reasons for their "successful" desegregation.

Webb

Built in 1968 as a junior high, Webb became a sixth grade center following the 1973 court order. Due to this conversion, the majority of the staff (none of whom were Mexican American) was newly assigned to Webb in August, 1973. The current enrollment is 765 students from 10 feeder areas; the ethnic representation is 58% Anglo, 26% Black, and 16% Mexican-American. Webb is located in north central Austin where increasing Mexican-American population growth has been occurring (refer

to map at end of Central Office narrative p. 47). At present, 75% of the Black students and less than 3% of the Mexican-American students are bused. Webb Sixth Grade Center has always had a few more Black teachers than required by compliance figures, and currently has two Mexican-American teachers.

Four Webb staff members were interviewed by WIEDS personnel. All of the interviewees agreed that there was no race problem at Webb, because students do not think of each other as one color or another. There is widespread SES diversity among the backgrounds of students. Many of the bused Blacks come from five East Austin housing projects where the SES is much lower than that of the Webb neighborhood families. Two interviewees expressed the view that Mexican-American students "are accepted a little bit more" than Blacks since (historically) they were considered as Anglo. Several interviewees mentioned that boys tend to mix better across ethnic groups than do girls. The negative effects of busing were reiterated with statements like, "racial misunderstandings start on the bus and come into school from there" and "the buses that come from the projects bring neighborhood quarrels to school". These misunderstandings take the form of problems with vernacular, or playing "the dozens" game (e.g., "Your mama . . ."), and are reported as usually being handled in the classroom in a problem-solving manner with the teacher facilitating. One interviewee also mentioned some cultural differences in the way in which students handle problems (e.g., fighting vs. talking it out).

Strategies mentioned as useful in dealing with desegregation concerns at Webb included:

- During the early years, S.C.L.R.'s worked with teachers, parents, and students in helping break down racial stereotypes, myths, etc. through group discussions and human relations work.

- Heterogeneous assignment of students to homerooms by ethnicity, sex, and achievement level. During the first weeks of the school year, a lot of emphasis/time was put into getting the students to learn each other's names (this prevents their referring to one another as "that Black kid," etc.).

- Late in the school year, teachers were grouped into teams of 4 so that Social Studies and Science were taught in the homerooms, and Math, Reading, and Language Arts in separate groups/periods. Each 4-way teacher team was located in rooms close or adjacent to each other and students experienced several teachers and groups of other students with this approach.

- S.C.E. provides for 2 reading resource teachers who work in a Reading Lab with children in the lowest achievement level. Some interviewees questioned the successfulness of this strategy, as eligible students (many minorities) are often re-segregated by feeling stigmatized as "the dummies" who go to remedial reading.

- A voluntary group and individual counseling program where students from each team meet once a week with the counselor to explore peer relations, communication skills, and problem-solving methods. Magic Circle was mentioned as a useful group process technique for dealing with problems of multi-ethnicity (e.g., Anglo children who express curiosity about Black children's hair get to feel it and discuss their differences).

- An O.C.S.C. is in operation and students must write behavioral contracts regarding their discipline problem in order to re-enter the classroom. One interviewee thinks that the O.C.S.C. is effective for some students while not for others.

- A Faculty Human Relations Committee, comprised of a teacher representative from each team, works on classroom problems collectively, previews films, and meets socially, fostering interethnic harmony among staff.

- Staff development was mentioned as plentiful by some interviewees and as scarce by others. Some counseling workshops that were conducted by Kealing Learning Center were mentioned, as well as "desegregation" workshops to assist with the creation/implementation of the sixth grade centers during their early years. The current workshops offered to Webb staff members focus on a sharing of ideas, problems, and support among staff members.

- A helping teacher acts in the role of disciplinarian, working with students assigned to the O.C.S.C. and with teachers in exploring the reasons for students becoming behavior problems.

- Parent contact is frequent, and their concern for their children's academic and social welfare is consistent. However, involvement of East Austin Black parents is minimal, according to one interviewee (who also indicated a discrepancy between low and middle SES parents since the former tend to reprimand their child and support the teacher's authority, while the latter are concerned with what they can do to help in the situation without necessarily punishing their child). Parent tutors have been used successfully in the past, but currently no similar programs, involving parent volunteers, are operating at Webb.

- Some curriculum content promotes cultural awareness as in Social Studies units which discuss the three ethnic groups in Austin as well as other cultures throughout the world. February is devoted to Black History while May to Mexican-American heritage.

- Social functions, such as Valentines Day and Christmas parties, are conducted to foster interaction among the students. Most interviewees mentioned the Friday Mountain Camp trips, designed to develop outdoor survival skills and provide recreation/interaction for the students. Typically parents volunteer to work with the teachers in these activities.

- A "borrowed" teacher from a local senior high comes to Webb during the Language Arts block to work with the teachers in each team by presenting a very "fast, fun oral Latin," studying roots, stems, derivations, etc. of words.

- An orientation for incoming fifth graders is conducted each year to familiarize the students with the school facilities, routine, integrated setting, etc.

- The Local Support Team makes active use of administrators, psychological associates, special education personnel, and parents in meeting special needs of children.

- Individual teacher techniques:

  - One interviewee has done extensive independent study in Black and Spanish history and states that this has increased her understanding children of different ethnic groups.

  - Another interviewee voluntarily greets the children in the halls before school in order to get to know as many of them as possible.

  - Some teachers contact the parents during the first few weeks of school to foster open school-community relations.

  - One interviewee, upon hearing of the impending court order to desegregate at the elementary level, met with a former sixth grade administrator to discuss what kinds of situations/problems were to be expected from children of that age.

- One interviewee purposely mixed different students together for certain tasks where increased interaction might be fostered.

- Another interviewee attempted to deal with racial tensions (e.g., playing "the dozens" game) in the classroom as they occurred, by helping students talk out their differences before they developed into more serious hostilities.

These interviewees, like those from the other sixth grade centers, reported the same race clustering as well as "natural" integration among students in extra-curricular situations. Again, these tendencies appear to be dependent on the individual personalities involved. One teacher reported that other teachers have come to her regarding incidents involving racial overtones of staff members (e.g., another teacher's discriminatory treatment of a student).

To the degree that certain areas of town are becoming more "naturally" integrated through changes in housing patterns, the schools are witnessing less racial problems. One interviewee reported a "good healthy sprinkling" of Blacks now traveling to school on previously all-Anglo buses. Other interviewees contended that the schools have accepted the idea they are desegregated and are now lax about taking further, more comprehensive steps toward integration (i.e., cultural pluralism). For example, one interviewee reported an underlying resistance at Webb toward having the drama group Trilogy perform at that school, as though certain staff members preferred not to be faced with any real intense issues of racism which may be still prevalent in these "desegregated" schools.

SUMMARY CHART OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON 6TH GRADE CENTER INTERVIEWS

	Interviewee											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L[6]
Race[1]	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	A	
Sex	F	M	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	
Age	50	40s	40s	50	30s	50	40s	50	20s	40s	30s	
Position[2]	P	P	P	C	C	T	T	T	T	T	ST	T
Experience												
Years in present position[3]	5	5	5	5	5	5	X	5	5	3	X	
Years in AISD	X	22	16	X	5	36	13	16	5	3	X	
Years in schools	X	22	16	X	12	43	22	18	5	7	X	
Interviewer[4]	AM1	AM1	AM1	AM2	AM2	AM2	BM2	AM2	BM2	AM2	AF2	
Focus of desegregation concern[5]	3	3	5	2	5	3	3	3	3	2	2	

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[1] A=Anglo, B=Black

[2] P=Principal, C=Counselor, T=Teacher, ST=SCE Teacher

[3] X=not addressed in interview

[4] AM1=Anglo male (33 years old), AM2=Anglo male (29 years old), BM2=Black male (29 years old), AF2=Anglo female (29 years old)

[5] 1=Anglo/Black only, 2=Anglo/Black primarily, 3=Anglo/Black/Mexican-American, 4=Anglo/Mexican-American primarily, 5=not specified

[6] Information from this interview was not reported due to equipment malfunction.

SUMMARY CHART:
STRATEGIES FOR SIXTH GRADE CENTERS*

	Stage I ...	Stage II ...	Stage III ...
Administrative/Governance	Principal initiative	Consistent Principal support for staff and students	
	Randomizing homeroom assignments according to race, sex, IQ, and neighborhood →		
	Hiring a counselor →		
	Hiring a hall monitor →	Hiring a helping teacher →	
	Acquiring below-level texts and library books		
		Establishing faculty human relations committee	
		Establishing an On Campus Suspension Center	
		Establishing a code of student behavior	
Staff Development	Conducting human relations workshop		Conducting values clarification workshop
		Conducting Inservice training on Reality Therapy	
		Conducting S.C.E. workshop on use of new materials	
Teaching/Learning	Instructional teaming (four teachers) →		
	Centering instruction on child →		Centering instruction on subject
		Teaching specialized enrichment classes (6 weeks) →	
	Fostering cultural awareness through class activities and ethnic weeks →		
	Recognizing and affirming different physical identities and colors →		
	Teacher assigning seats to mix students →		Students selecting own seats
		Destigmatizing Special Education and remedial instruction →	
	Crisis intervention counseling		
	Counseling groups →	Magic Circle →	Fusion of successful counseling techniques and affective learning
		Reality Therapy	
	Gaining trust of student leaders →		
	Teacher modeling of communication skills →		
	Including parents as tutors →		Including parents in social functions, field trips, and students performances

* Stages represent a sequencing of strategies in two senses: on the one hand, the sequence covers developments over a span of years starting with the first year of desegregation; on the other hand, each school year beginning in September sees a replication of initial desegregation strategies and progresses through later strategies. Stage I strategies attempt to mix students of different ethnic groups and deal with short-run problems resulting from adjustment. Stage II strategies attempt to reintegrate students under a guiding ideology of cultural pluralism. Stage III identifies emergent trends or problems as yet unsolved.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Bedichek

Located in far South Austin, Bedichek was built in 1972 in response to the need created by the population growth in that area (and, therefore, was not in existence when the first court order to desegregate occurred in 1971). The school neighborhood is fairly well integrated by both Mexican-Americans and Blacks of middle-class SES (refer to map at end of Central Office narrative p. 47). From a school enrollment of 730 students, 73% are Anglo, 7% are Black, and 20% are Mexican-American. Relative to the Black students in attendance, 50% are bused from East Austin feeder areas. In regard to the faculty of 50, Bedichek has 8 Black and 4 Mexican-American teachers. Four of these staff members, from various professional levels, were interviewed by two members of the WIEDS team (see Summary Chart p. 92).

The emphasis at Bedichek is on teachers teaching students rather than subjects, according to one interviewee. "Quality education" was stressed by three of the four sources.

An active, and fairly extensive, human relations program provided the main thrust for desegregation efforts at Bedichek. Most interviewees contended that racial hostilities have diminished through the years, although tensions do manifest themselves between sub-factions of the various ethnic student groups. The "kickers" vs. the Blacks, the "hippies" vs. the "kickers", and the neighborhood Blacks (middle class SES) vs. the bused Blacks (lower class SES) typify rivalries that were mentioned. Although "no real race problems have occurred over the past

three years," at Bedichek, several interviewees reported that students of this age typically play "the dozens" game (e.g., "Your mama . . ."), sometimes jokingly, sometimes with hostile intent. The same observation was made about name-calling (e.g., "honky," "nigger") and rumor-spreading by various persons. All of these phenomena often take on racial overtones. Peer group pressure is strong among students of this age; one interviewee cited the example of the neighborhood Black girl caught between the loyalties of her neighborhood Anglo friends and the bused Blacks (who called her a "honky-lover"). On the other hand, as one interviewee pointed out, students "pick up cues as to when it's cool not to say those things." Another pointed out that fights brought on by racist comments do occur, but he saw them as manifestations of conflict between individual persons as opposed to different ethnic groups. Interethnic dating was reported by several sources; however, some parents object to such practices. One interviewee stated that the female students mixed among races more readily than did the male students.

Strategies and needs toward successful desegregation that were mentioned in the Bedichek interviews included:

- A need for adequate planning was discussed by one interviewee in terms of the disruption and violence which characterized the early years of desegregation.
- Crisis intervention strategies such as trouble-shooting to prevent fights from materializing, conducting group discussions of rumors and stereotypes, working with overt and covert student leaders, etc. The S.C.L.R.P. was effective in the early years though not at present, according to several sources.
- Having quality teachers on the staff was mentioned as providing an impetus for desegregation. Furthermore, quality minority teachers served as successful role models for the students.

- Low achieving students' (many minorities) academic courses are scheduled during the morning hours when they are more alert and responsive to instruction.

- An active student human relations program, based on group counseling techniques, helped keep racial undercurrents at an ebb through two approaches: (1) schoolwide discussion groups aimed at getting students to know one another, to learn communication skills, to share problems, and to explore problem-solving methods; and (2) the human relations committee of 12 students, who showed either negative or positive leadership, geared toward activities in the classroom (role-playing, discussion of offensive name-calling, etc.). Students from all ethnicities comprised both groups. The counselors, along with teachers trained in group leadership, facilitated this preventative approach to counseling.

- During the first year that Bedichek was in operation, the teachers were taken on bus tours of the areas comprising the school attendance zone, including the East Austin feeder areas, which was "a real eye-opener" for some teachers.

- Partners Club, which paired students from different ethnic groups primarily for social interaction, has had extensive involvement (200 - 300 students). Partners dinners provided interaction for the parents of these students as well. This program was not in operation this year at Bedichek.

- The S.R.S.D.P. was the only federally-funded program geared towards minorities that Bedichek had at the present time.

- The S.L.B. allowed bused Blacks to participate in activities after school. Also, some staff members freely provided transportation or helped to make arrangements for students who might otherwise not be able to have participated.

- Supervised Optional Study (S.O.S.), similar to an O.C.S.C., provided an intermediate discipline measure prior to suspension of a student. School work was conducted in the S.O.S. and a commitment with the counselors was required before release.

- An orientation program for incoming sixth graders has been implemented in some years to prepare students for what they can expect at Bedichek.

- Some curriculum content was geared toward multiethnicity (e.g., art classes made masks and saw slides and had discussions on the custom of African mask-making). Also, Black History Month activities were reported. Two interviewees stated that the frequency or degree to which multiethnicity was promoted through curriculum content could be greater.

- Parental involvement, despite the limitations imposed by both parents working, was considerable according to some interviewees. The difficulty in getting the East Austin Black parents involved has been dealt with in the past by providing buses for them to attend school events. One interviewee identified the lack of parental involvement as "our biggest weakness."

- Social activities such as parties, dances, movies, camp-outs were sponsored to foster interaction among students.

- Staff development activities:

  - Texas Educational Desegregation and Technical Assistance Center (TED-TAC) workshops in early years.

  - Reality Therapy workshops several years ago.

  - The principal encouraged the teachers to "promote" the students in the classroom through recognition and out of the classroom by staff attendance at athletic events, drama productions, etc.

  - Early in the year, the principal met with staff to get their input on priorities for inservice training desired throughout the year.

  - During the year, certain "C-days" were set aside for staff development to see films, to organize students for improving school grounds, etc.

- Individual teacher techniques:

  - One individual had personally consulted with a former educator concerning humanistic approaches to education.

  - One interviewee made a point to learn as many students names as possible, greet them in the halls, etc. Another did the same by playing sports with the students, taking them on outings, etc.

  - One teacher watched television shows on parenting skills, conferred with psychologist friends, and applied this knowledge to classroom situations.

  - One interviewee established one rule for behavior in the classroom at the beginning of the year, "No put-downs," and stuck to it.

  - In addition to the curriculum content, one interviewee taught values, fostered mutual respect for persons of all races, and explained the emotional impact some labels have on individuals.

- One interviewee gave an example of how a student had been "promoted" by his art work being displayed in the hallway.
- Another interviewee used behavior modification techniques to teach students responsibility (e.g., "Early morning gym will be closed tomorrow unless the trash in the courtyard is cleaned up.").

One interviewee stressed the idea of humanization, i.e., that there were no real needs for special programs to address the issues of multiethnicity in the schools, but rather for persons, staff, and students alike, to treat each other as individuals deserving respect. Another respondent indicated that the varying home lives of students sometimes contradicted the efforts of the school (e.g., some students' parents stressed the importance of grades in certain subjects, while others were ambivalent). The various SES backgrounds of students seemed to create more pressures than did racial differences per se. One interviewee stated that the more anglicized the minority members were (e.g., neighborhood Blacks), the less tensions were created by their integration into the school environment. Busing (one-way) was criticized for its effect on resegregating, reinforcing isolation, and interfering with consistent discipline of East Austin Black students. Same-race clustering, outside of the classroom, was reported by some interviewees, while not apparent to others.

Three of the interviewees expressed a need for improved faculty relations. Some reported that teachers were reluctant to allow students out of the classroom for human relations or special activities. Another respondent contended that identifiable groups worked for their own interests (e.g., Black teachers energize activities during Black History Month), but on a regular daily basis there was a lack of staff unity. There was no Faculty Human Relations Committee currently at Bedichek,

and one interviewee expressed the need for a Parent Human Relations Committee, too.

While the atmosphere at Bedichek appeared to be conducive to successful integration, according to those interviewed, other areas were still in need of development.

Dobie

Constructed in 1973 (after court-ordered busing had already been in effect), Dobie Junior High School is located in a far northeast area of town which was described by one interviewee as a "fairly well integrated neighborhood." Relative to the 1,070 students currently enrolled, 64% are Anglo, 20% are Black, and 16% are Mexican American. The Mexican-American population is residential, and less than 50% of the Black students are bused for desegregation purposes. However, due to the school's isolated location, 85-90% of all students live more than two miles from school and are, therefore, bused.

Currently Dobie has a teaching staff of 54, with members of both minorities represented. Four individuals, from various professional levels, were interviewed by four members of the WIEDS staff (see Summary Chart p. 92).

The interviewees praised Dobie as having an open administration which "gets involved and cares about its students." An overriding concern was expressed for the lack of good school/community relations due to the majority of students riding buses. One interviewee reported that it was "difficult to develop a sense of school-community when this community is so fragmented." Additional problems mentioned by the interviewees regarding the fragmented community were poor parental involvement and support, distrust between the community and the school,

and a wide range of SES and academic ability among students.

All of the interviewees noted that there had been many interethnic conflicts in the early years at Dobie but interethnic relations were generally very good now. The percentage of discipline problems has declined each of the last two years at Dobie and one interviewee attributed this decline to the staff's consistently communicating the school's expectations to the students. This person felt that, while more work needs to be done on coordinating and streamlining procedures and ironing out communications, Dobie's staff was willing to put out the extra effort.

Harmonious relations among faculty members were mentioned by several interviewees. One reported same-race clustering by Mexican-American hall monitors, but noted that the teachers mixed well interracially and shared information and techniques on working with different cultural groups.

Strategies mentioned by the interviewees as aiding successful desegregation include:

- The school was organized around eight "learning communities," each composed of four teachers and 135-150 students. Students received instruction in various subjects from different members of their teaching team. Teachers within each community shared conference and planning time, which fostered "built in" interaction.

- An advisory teacher program, whereby classroom teachers served as advisors to students, helped students and teachers get to know each other better. This program was limited by incomplete staff development and a gradual loss of interest on the part of the students and is no longer in effect.

- Rap sessions were used frequently when Dobie first opened so that Black and Anglo students could get to know what each other was like.

- AISD-hired hall monitors patrolled the restrooms where there had been fights and extortion.

- OCSC. In operation two years ago, OCSC was discontinued because the same students were repeatedly referred, and were eventually suspended from school. It did not, therefore, serve to keep students in school. One interviewee mentioned that the students learned the right words to say in the behavioral commitment without internalizing the sentiment.

- A Reality Therapy clinic, for students with behavior problems, was a group session wherein students talked about what was getting them into trouble, made plans to change their behavior, and were reinforced by their peers.

- Use of Central Office programs, including:

  - Since 1974, the SRSDP has targeted lower level students in reading, sponsored "Make-and-Take" workshops for teachers, and made use of parent, peer, and hired tutors.

  - SAP has provided funds for buses to special events.

  - SCLRP has provided assistance (including funds) in organizing and maintaining clubs, sponsored Trilogy presentations, etc.

  - SEP has been used by Dobie students (mostly bused Black students). Its value was questioned by one interviewee as failing students sometimes misinterpret participation in SEP to mean guaranteed promotion, and did not always show any academic or social skills improvement.

  - Local Support Team (LST) of teachers, administrators, and support service people (e.g., visiting teachers) met to brainstorm ideas of addressing the needs of individual students.

- The school-wide discipline policy, called the "Step Process," involved specific procedures and lines of communication for discipline referrals. One interviewee felt that the surety of suspension, for things like fighting, gave students a "graceful exit" from a potential fight, and thus reduced the number of fights. While there was currently no OCSC (one interviewee claimed that the lack of physical space was the reason), there was a short term "Waiting Room," where problem students were sent to do assignments. With some students, behavioral commitments based on Reality Therapy were used.

- Cultural differences, in discipline problems, were addressed in order to foster ethnic pride.

- The counseling program made use of individual counseling, topical group discussions (e.g., on divorce), rap sessions (where students learn communication skills), and consultations (among teachers, parents, counselor). Students' counseling needs and interests were determined through the use of an open-ended questionnaire requesting topics to be discussed in groups.

- Various staff development activities included:

  - Inservice training on interethnic relationships, including discussion of Black dialect. One interviewee noted a certain leader calling for group participation in a song about being proud to be Black, which alienated some of the non-Blacks.

  - Additional workshops mentioned include human relations, self-concept, teaching ethnic studies in all content areas, and Reality Therapy. One interviewee noted that such workshops not only helped teacher/student relationships but teacher/teacher relationships as well. Another noted that "a good percentage" of the Dobie staff had been trained in Reality Therapy.

  - School-wide and department-wide objective-setting to identify the desirable goals of teaching at Dobie.

  - Input on hiring new teachers. Teachers, in each learning community, helped to decide whom to hire for open teaching positions in that community.

- Parental involvement was aided by:

  - Teacher contact with parents by means of mail, phone, and meetings.

  - Provision of buses for East Austin residents for special events. This program was mentioned as being more successful with the students than with the parents.

  - PTA was well attended by parents from the local neighborhood but poorly attended by the parents from East Austin, who lived approximately 14 miles away.

  - Parent counseling groups had been offered but received no response.

- Curriculum content to address multiethnicity:

  - Ethnic studies, including units on Blacks, Mexican-Americans, women, plus the Spanish, Mexican, and Indian influences in the Southwest, stressed the positive cultural contributions of members of each group.

  - Infusion of cultural awareness into instructional programs, such as social studies, reading, science, music, art, speech, and English. Teachers were free to try new topics and techniques and were encouraged to explore different topics from different points of view.

- Social activities, including dances after school (where kids of different races mixed well, according to one interviewee), and faculty parties.

- Orientation for incoming sixth graders and their parents, attempted to discount "the bad reputation" Dobie has acquired.

- Various clubs which fostered tri-ethnic interaction:

  - All Colors Club, composed of overt and covert leaders of different ethnic groups, worked on ethnic problems through retreats, discussion groups, and school-wide activities.

  - Student Human Relations Committee involved students of different ethnic groups in continuous activities to promote positive interaction. Membership was dependent on good grades and conduct.

  - Y-teens Club was associated with the YWCA and involved a large number of students.

  - Muscular Dystrophy Club fostered interethnic harmony through service activities.

- Intermission Program, a series of mini-courses in topics such as baton twirling and macrame, which met twice a week during school hours. Clubs also met during the intermission time.

- Roadrunner of the Month Award, was given to both a boy and a girl student based on cooperation, human relations skills, and good attitude, with no concern for academic or athletic ability. One interviewee saw this award, and the final Roadrunner of the Year Award, as means of recognizing and reinforcing the average student.

- Strategies particular to individual teachers:

  - Class meetings, held by individual teachers, to talk about prejudices and clear-up bad feelings.

  - Teachers, coming across as teachers, rather than as members of a particular race; thereby helping to minimize the role of race in dealing with problems.

  - Teachers giving students a choice of activities in the classroom, to prevent a student from being frustrated by working on something in which he/she had no interest.

The general feeling, implied by the interviewees, was that Dobie was currently not a culturally pluralistic school, but that progress was being made toward that end. Several interviewees noted incidences of racism that continued to occur. Although there were not as many human relations activities as there were several years ago, one interviewee

noted that some of these activities may have been "overdone" in the past; i.e., a potential problem existed with junior high school students in that, if "something was overdone they started to take it as a joke."

Another interviewee indicated that issues of race took the form of rivalries among various sub-cultural groups (e.g., the "kicker" Anglos) within each race as well as across races. An inordinate number of Blacks got into discipline trouble at Dobie, believed one interviewee, because certain Anglo teachers were offended by the culturally-based behaviors of Blacks. Another stated that the large number of minority students being affected by the counseling program may be seen as a reflection of the minority students' losing their hesitancy to approach the Anglo counselors.

The main thrust at Dobie, during recent years, has been to improve achievement scores through a concentration on basic skills such as reading and math. Other new directions mentioned in the interviews included:

- a different approach in teaching reading next year, particularly targeting minority students and their unique needs
- a suggestion box to allow students to voice their opinions on discipline and education policies
- coordination with the news media to "promote" Dobie to parents and community

Murchison

Located in far Northwest Austin in an upper SES neighborhood, Murchison Junior High School had no Black students in attendance prior to 1971. With court-ordered desegregation in 1971-72, Murchison received 103 Black students from East Austin (lower SES) neighborhoods. Currently, there are 765 students in attendance; 78% are Anglo, 19% are

Black, and 3% are Mexican-American. The bused-in Black students (80%) come from a neighborhood of single family homes and duplexes (as opposed to housing projects) in which both parents work, though the total family income remains modest.

In regard to the 39 total staff members at Murchison, there are two Black and four Mexican-American teachers. Four of these staff members, at various professional levels, were interviewed by three members of the WIEDS staff (see Summary Chart p. 92). None of the interviewees were teachers at Murchison at the time of court-ordered desegregation, but several had previously worked in other schools and were familiar with desegregation in Austin. Most respondents reported that Murchison provided a more effective learning environment and had fewer problems than other schools where they had worked. Several interviewees expressed appreciation for the affluence of the community they served and characterized their student body as highly motivated and college-bound. It was reported that bused Blacks generally had a more difficult time competing academically than majority students, were more likely to be placed in remedial classes and special education classes, and were more likely to be involved in discipline-related situations.

Interviewees stated that, in the last three years, overt racial conflicts between the upper SES majority and the lower SES minority students were uncommon. Nevertheless, few students mixed outside their ethnic groups when in the halls or cafeteria. Two incidents mentioned in the interviews suggested a latent tension in interethnic relations:

- An Anglo girl had written a note complaining that three Black girls smelled bad. One of the Black girls found the note, confronted the Anglo girl, and "put the little girl in orbit." The conflict was resolved by sending the two students to the office and helping them talk out their differences verbally.

- An Anglo boy persistently referred to a Black boy as "nigger," despite the teacher's reprimands. Finally, the teacher told the Black student, in the Anglo's presence, that the next time that happened "to turn around and punch him out," but to make sure that the teacher was not looking. The Anglo student ceased the behavior after this interchange of words.

Murchison tended to have fewer discipline problems than other junior high schools in the district.* Only two or three students have been long-term suspended this past year, while a large number of adjustment transfers from other schools, mostly minority students, have been accepted by Murchison (e.g., the Black student who is a high achiever, but is ridiculed as being an "oreo" by his Black peers in his neighborhood school).

Strategies toward successful desegregation which were mentioned in the interviews included:

- Central Office programs:

  - A strong human relations program, coordinated by the SCLR's, was provided for seventh graders. Groups of students met with a teacher one hour per week for five weeks to get to know each other and then went on a one-day outing during the sixth week. Each group was comprised of eight students: four boys, four girls; four majority, four minority; and, only two "explosive" students in any group, preferably one majority and one minority. The school hoped to extend their human relations program to all students in the next year or two.

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* As this report was being written, newspapers exploded with the headlines that an eighth grade student at Murchison had entered his class and fatally shot his teacher. He was a student in the special class for the gifted and talented. While some parents blamed the school for overlooking growing violence in the schools, the Austin Teachers' Association pointed to the high degree of academic pressure which both the parents and Murchison imposed on students. No determinations have yet been made as to the boy's motivation in this act of violence.

- The SRSDP was eliminated at Murchison in 1977 (this was one of two schools deemed to need the program the least when funds became scarce). Locally funded remedial programs in Math and English were currently available for students who scored low on achievement tests.

- Murchison sent five to seven students, all minorities, to the SEP each year. Often, their participation had been a determining factor in their promotion to the next grade level the following year.

- Murchison had taken advantage of SAP funds to provide transportation for students to field trips (e.g., the inauguration of the governor, speech by Alex Haley, etc.).

- A special tri-ethnic class for the gifted and talented had been in operation at Murchison.**

- A special education reading program was developed at Murchison and is now being piloted in several other schools in Austin.

- Several interviewees mentioned the school sports program as the most effective student activity promoting integration.

- An O.C.S.C. was operated by trained monitors and was mentioned by several interviewees as effective, particularly with first time offenders, and less so with students who had been referred repeatedly. The counselor worked with the students in drawing up a suitable contract for exiting the OCSC.

- Staff development strategies included:

  - A week-long workshop discussing interactional and linguistic differences between Blacks and Anglos was held in the past.

  - Training in Reality Therapy.

  - Training conducted by the SCLR's for teachers working in the human relations program.

  - A fifteen day institute for developing multicultural curriculum in six subject areas was planned for this coming summer.

- An active Faculty Human Relations Committee had been in operation at Murchison.

- An orientation session was held each year for all incoming students from the sixth grade centers. Murchison staff stressed that no students should intimidate or be intimidated by any other student, that extortion would be severely punished, and that each student would be responsible for their own possessions and not carelessly allow them to be stolen.

** Refer to footnote on preceeding page.

- Strategies mentioned as particular to individual teachers included:

  - One teacher developed a social studies unit on the contributions of different ethnic groups to Texas history.

  - One interviewee maintained strict expectations for all students and "played no favorites," insisting to his minority students that "you will be respected because of how smart you are, not how tough you are or how loud you scream or how fast you run or whether you carry a basketball."

  - One teacher assigned students to groups for work on projects by randomly drawing names.

  - Another teacher refused to assign homework to minority students who lacked the free time, uncrowded space, and parental support in their homes to do school work.

  - One teacher confonted all students with "derogatory" labels (e.g., "You sucker," "You greaser") and accepted similar responses ("Hey, teacher, you've flipped your tacos") from students in order to establish a groundwork of informality, honesty, and respect, similar to street interactions that many minority students were familiar with.

The problems of integrating lower income bused minority students into an affluent majority school have yet to be fully resolved at Murchison. One interviewee stated that further training on dialectical differences between Blacks and Anglos would be useful for Anglo teachers, and another interviewee confirmed that interracial communication problems continued to cause difficulties in classrooms. It was suggested, by one individual, that the human relations approach to solving ethnic conflicts was superficial and that "students saw through it;" i.e. students should not be forced to like each other and might expand their experience of one another through interactions unmediated by school personnel.

Another interviewee indicated that achievement grouping had created resegregation under a desegregated roof. The suggestion was made to revise the method of assigning students to classes in a manner that would assure a wider range of achievement levels in each class.

At the level of parental involvement, integration appeared to be even further away. Minority parents expressed the same concerns about their children's education as majority parents, but did not contact the teachers as frequently as majority parents. One reason for this may have been that both parents of the minority students usually worked. One interviewee had gone to places of employment of minority parents in order to talk to them, over lunch or on a coffee break, about their children. For a variety of reasons, few parents of bused students participated in formal parent organizations (such as the PTA) and activities connected with their children's school. Their need to work, the distance between Murchison and their homes, the lack of transportation, as well as social and economic differences were mentioned as impediments to parental involvement in school affairs by minorities.

SUMMARY CHART OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL INTERVIEWS

	Interviewee											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Race[1]	A	A	A	A	A	A	SS	B	A	B	SS	A
Sex	M	M	M	F	M	F	M	F	F	M	F	M
Age	20s	40s	50	20s	30s	40s	30s	20s	20s	20s	20s	30s
Position[2]	P	P	P	C	C	C	T	T	T	T	T	T
Experience[3]												
Years in present position	1	6	X	4	X	5	X	1	4	2	4	4
Years in AISD	X	11	X	6	X	18	X	5	4	2	4	6
Years in schools	X	X	X	8	X	25	X	5	4	2	7	7
Interviewer[4]	AF2	AF2	AF2	AM2	AF2	AM2	AF3	BM2	AM2	BM2	AF2	AF4
Focus of desegregation concern[5]	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	5	3	3	3

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[1] A=Anglo, B=Black, SS=Spanish Surname

[2] P=Principal, C=Counselor, T=Teacher

[3] X=not addressed in interview

[4] AF2=Anglo female (29 years old), AF4=Anglo female (30 years old), AM2=Anglo male (29 years old), BM2=Black male (29 years old), AF3=Anglo female (38 years old)

[5] 1=Anglo/Black only, 2=Anglo/Black primarily, 3=Anglo/Black/Mexican-American, 4=Anglo/Mexican-American primarily, 5=not specified

SUMMARY CHART:
STRATEGIES FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS*

	Stage I ...	Stage II ...	Stage III ...
Administrative/Governance	Adequate planning for desegregation		
	Establishing learning communities →		
		Scheduling morning academic courses for low achievers →	
	Hiring hall monitors →		
	Hiring qualified teachers, especially minorities →		
		Establishing faculty human relations committee →	
		Establishing local support team →	
		Giving social activities for students →	
	Providing transportation for students and parents for special events →		
Staff Development	Faculty input on hiring new teachers →		
		Setting objectives for teaching	
	Conducting TED-TAC workshops		
	Conducting human relations workshops →	Training teachers to conduct human relations activities for students	
	Conducting bus tours of neighborhoods of students for teaching staff		
		Conducting workshops on cultural and linguistic differences in different ethnic groups	
		Conducting Reality Therapy Training	
		Developing multicultural curriculum	
			Conducting needs assessment for other inservice training
Teaching/Learning	Instructional teaming →		
	Providing SRSDP remedial instruction →		
		SEP program for low-achieving students →	
		Recognizing ethnic heritage through the observance of Black History Month, etc. →	
		Ethnic studies and multicultural curriculum →	
	Crisis intervention counseling		
	Rap sessions →	Group discussions →	Topical groups
	Personal acquaintance with all new students (advisory teachers) →	Individual counseling	
		Student human relations committee →	
	Orientations for incoming sixth grade students →		
		OCSC →	Supervised Optional Study Step Process for discipline of students
		Partners Clubs →	Extracurricular clubs fostering interethnic relations
			SCLRP Trilogy drama group →

* Stages represent a sequencing of strategies in two senses: on the one hand, the sequence covers developments over a span of years starting with the first year of desegregation; on the other hand, each school year beginning in September sees a replication of initial desegregation strategies and progresses through later strategies. Stage I strategies attempt to mix students of different ethnic groups and deal with short-run problems resulting from adjustment. Stage II strategies attempt to reintegrate students under a guiding ideology of cultural pluralism. Stage III identifies emergent trends or problems as yet unsolved.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Anderson

Anderson High School was one of the three all-Black schools in East Austin which were closed by the court desegregation order in 1971. Feeder patterns based on contiguous and satellite attendance zones were established for the students who lived in the old Anderson High neighborhood. The new Anderson High School, located in far Northwest Austin, an area of upper-SES (predominantly Anglo) families was built in 1973 in response to population growth in that area, and Black students from East Austin were bused in for desegregation purposes. Austin had been experiencing its most critical period of disruption which characterized court-ordered busing during the time this high school was being built. The school board decided to name the new high school L. C. Anderson (after the Black educator for whom the old facility was named) and to appoint Austin's first Black principal (other than at the all-Black schools) to head its administration in an attempt to reconcile some of the dissension. Consequently, the new Anderson High was thought by many persons to owe its existence to the closing of the old Anderson High and to symbolize the community's desegregation concern more than any other event. However, the closing of the old Anderson and the opening of the new were resented by many members of both the Black and Anglo population for various reasons. The Blacks resented the closing of <u>their</u> old high school which had been an institution in the Black community for many years. The busing of Black students to the predominantly Anglo northwest hills area was seen as another instance of Blacks having to bear the brunt of

desegregation by having to accommodate themselves to Anglo resistance. The Anglo community, on the other hand, resented naming the new school "Anderson" which had its historical roots in the development of the Black community. There was doubt among many Anglo parents regarding the competency of the administration. Both Anglo and Black parents were concerned for their children's safety. And the administration and central office were apprehensive over student harmony and parent cooperation.

Relative to the current enrollment of 2,400 students at Anderson, 88% are Anglo, 10% are Black, and 2% are Mexican American. Less than 50% of the Black students are bused in from East Austin feeder areas. Of the 102 teachers, 20 counselors and other support personnel on the staff, 10% are minority members. Four of these individuals, from various professional levels, were interviewed by five members of the WIEDS team (two different WIEDS staff members interviewed one person twice because some of the first interview was lost due to an equipment malfunction).

Strategies that were implicitly mentioned in the interviews as successful in dealing with the problems of desegregation included:

- Planning measures were implemented to ensure that the new Anderson would open with as little conflict as possible:

  - The principal met with students from the feeder schools from which the new Anderson student body would be comprised and formulated a steering committee of student representatives chosen by student vote. The steering committee resolved issues such as school colors, school mascot and school song, and established a by-law ensuring minority representation on the school cheerleading squad. It was decided, with the assistance of the SCLR's in facilitating group discussions, that (because of the proportion of minority students to the total student body) two minorities should always be included on the cheerleading squad.

  - An extensive human relations effort was undertaken with

parent groups. Strong leadership in this activity was provided by parents from Northwest and East Austin and many ministers. Covered dish dinners, neighborhood coffees, and student parent meetings were held to facilitate discussions. Transportation was provided to parents having difficulty attending functions held in either section of town.

- Initially, extensive participation of staff in various types of workshops and inservice training sessions focusing upon topics relevant to desegregation were provided by central offices and the Regional Educational Service Center.

- The open classroom and team teaching concepts were employed to facilitate interaction among students and teachers and to expose students to a combination of teaching styles.

- At the beginning of the year, faculty sponsors of clubs and organizations asked for representatives from each club to be either selected or appointed to serve on the Student Human Relations Committee. Members of the committee attended various workshops and coordinated discussion types of activities where students gathered to discuss issues relevant to the day-to-day activities of the school in an attempt to improve working relationships among students. There is also a Faculty Human Relations Committee which promoted activities designed to improve staff relations (e.g., a Faculty Social was sponsored every two months to develop staff camaraderie) and to deal with common problems.

- Use of Central Office Programs:

  - A Reading Resource Specialist worked through the SRSDP to improve reading skills of those students reading below grade level (i.e., many minorities).

  - The SAP was active in coordinating and developing many extracurricular activities.

- An elaborate procedure was utilized to enforce both short- and long-term suspensions. The counselors kept a docket or folder on each student's infractions and informed the parents of a student's status in the discipline process in an attempt to ensure that objective documentation was used in making decisions concerning student discipline.

- An Afro-Americans Club developed and coordinated activities which appealed to the interest of the school's Black students.

- Various staff development activities were mentioned in the areas of human relations, discipline, and multicultural education. The interviewees stated that these types of

training were utilized more in past years and participation had leveled off in recent years.

- Curriculum changes to address the needs of a multiethnic student body through career development and job training included:

  - General Education Diploma (GED) - counselors coordinated GED examination opportunities for students having difficulties in completing high school coursework for various reasons.

  - Texas Alliance for Minorities in Engineering (TAME) - Conferences were set up between students and representatives from IBM, Texas Instruments, and other corporations and on-site visits to these industries were provided for students expressing an interest in this field.

  - Industrial Commercial Technical (ICT) - A cooperative work program focusing upon learning skills with the hands, ICT included activities in which students worked with machines or worked in a doctor's office observing and learning to operate the various types of equipment used in the medical profession.

  - Distributive Education (DE) - Students were placed in various worksites and gained experience in working with the public.

  - Home Economics Cooperative Education (HECE) - Students were placed in hospitals as dietician aides, as well as in nursing homes, kindergartens or other placements involving working with foods or health problems and thereby gained skills to work in helping professions.

  - Vocational Office Education (VOE) - Open only to seniors, this program provided opportunities for students to gain experience working in various types of office settings. Many minorities and students with poor grades took advantage of VOE.

  - Cooperative Vocational Academic Education (CVAE) - Focused upon obtaining jobs in various settings for students having academic and/or discipline problems (many minorities). CVAE proved to be especially effective for encouraging drop-outs and other students having problems to obtain their diplomas.

  - Executive Management - Placements in areas of television, radio, law enforcement and state government were offered to interested students.

  - Minorities in Mainstreaming - Focused upon the significant

contributions made by minorities in the history of the country and proved to be one of the more popular courses in the school.

The interviewees contended that desegregation is no longer a primary issue at Anderson High. This is not to say that racism does not still exist, as several persons pointed out, but that it manifests itself in less overt forms. The conflicts, that were experienced immediately after the school opened, have been virtually eliminated. It appears that the staff and the students are making an effort to develop a positive atmosphere in the school.

Areas which still need improvement or development, mentioned in the interviews, included:

- The degree of minority participation in school activities could be improved. Busing hinders this need from being actualized. Relatedly, it was stated that bused Blacks do not develop the sense of school identity and involvement as do their neighborhood peers. Participation of minority parents in school functions is limited.

- Problems of student vernacular, some of which is rooted in cultural diversity, result from Anglo teachers' lack of understanding and tolerance of such expressions of speech on the part of both Anglo and Black students (i.e., determining certain words to be "obscenities").

- Several interviewees described parental discrimination, concerning school personnel, as particularly salient (e.g., parents often address their concerns to staff members of their same ethnicity rather than consulting with staff members of different ethnic backgrounds). These interviewees contended that problems encountered with parents due to cultural differences far exceed those encountered with the students.

- One interviewee supported the claim that the problems of having culturally divergent student groups in the schools cannot be alleviated without a shift in tactics employed by real estate agents, land developers, etc. toward desegregating housing patterns in Austin.

Same-race grouping of students outside the classroom was reported. However, considering the vast diversity in SES of students attending

Anderson High, problems of race appear to have been minimized.

Austin

The present Austin High School facility, located in the south central sector of the city, was built in 1975 in response to the needs of a growing enrollment. The previous Austin High, located in the west central sector of the city, was Austin's original and only high school until 1953 and had accumulated years of tradition. Students of predominantly upper SES had historically attended this school. When Austin High was moved to its present location, increased ethnic and social class diversity resulted from its expanded attendance zone. Initially, there was a clash in values and lifestyles between the tradition-oriented students with upper class backgrounds from the old Austin High and the new students with lower class backgrounds having no loyalties to the old Austin High nor a concern for its traditions. This relocation of school sites, coupled with the court-ordered busing order of 1971, which had affected the old school, antagonized the economic and social differences among racial groups.

Based on the current student enrollment of 2,000, 60% are Anglo, 27% Mexican American, and 13% Black. This ethnic representation reflected a tri-ethnic balance most like the district-wide ratio. Many of these students were from affluent homes and have highly educated, civic-minded, professional parents. On the other extreme, there was an increasing number of students coming from poverty-level homes where education was not stressed as important. This contrast in pupil characteristics has affected the school's climate in two ways: (1) the pupils have had to go through a period of adjustment among themselves; and (2) the staff, many of whom transferred from the previous Austin High facility, had to

adjust to an entirely different type of student. At present, 20% of Black and Mexican-American students are bused, while the remainder, both minority and majority students reside in the school attendance zone.

The majority of the school's staff, approximately 86%, is Anglo, with the remaining 14% being Black or Mexican-American. Four of these staff members, from various professional levels, were interviewed by three members of the WIEDS staff (see Summary Chart).

The general feeling, among those interviewed, was that during the initial stages of desegregation at Austin High, there were problems involving student/student and teacher/student conflicts which were attributed to race. However, through a concerted effort among the school's staff, the students, the parents, and AISD's central office, interracial conflict has subsided and interpersonal relationships in the school as a whole have improved. This progress has changed the way cultural differences are addressed in the school. Crisis intervention techniques and disciplinary procedures, as they apply to interracial conflict, are no longer immediate concerns. Curriculum modifications in the classroom, policy changes regarding extracurricular activities, and their appropriateness for a multi-ethnic student body were expressed as current concerns of the school's staff.

Several interviewees reported that most problems occurred as a result of social class differences, which were entrenched in racial differences but were not attributable to them per se. There was noticeable same-race grouping of students in the halls, cafeterias, and in extracurricular activities. However, this may have been a manifestation of previously established friendships from junior high feeder areas rather than an indication of ethnic divisiveness. The feeling expressed

by the interviewees was that the atmosphere at Austin High was one of genuine concern for each individual student and total cooperation among students, staff, and parents.

Some of the implied successful strategies at Austin High throughout the years of desegregation included:

- A warm, supportive principal fostered the humanistic development of students and staff.

- Establishment of a school-wide planning procedure which involved students and teachers. The theme for this effort was "caring" with a motto of "Everybody is somebody at Austin High." It was initiated through a school-wide assembly at which the principal outlined the purposes and conducted large and small group discussions to list activities which could be utilized to increase student involvement in academic work as well as in school activities. The original effort produced a small Student/Faculty Planning Committee which has grown until, at present, the entire school is involved with student panels and committees providing input in many administrative decisions.

- Use of Central Office programs:

  - A series of tri-ethnic student and faculty retreats were devised by Austin High during the early years of desegregation to provide students and faculty a forum for informal discussion and planning. These retreats continue to play an active part in Austin's integration efforts, and are now coordinated through the SCLRP. The SCLR's have also helped develop other activities designed to improve student/student, student/faculty, and parent/faculty relations.

  - Through the SRSDP, a Reading Resource Specialist has worked with reading deficiencies of (lower class) students.

  - Coordination with the SAP to develop ways of increasing minority participation in activities: Sponsors of clubs and organizations have been encouraged to conduct meetings and activities in locations easily accessible to minority students; a special fund was established through the faculty and the PTA in order to enable minority students who might otherwise lack the resources to participate in certain activities; the Hare System (see Central Office narrative) was instituted to insure minority representation in activities such as cheerleaders which are chosen largely by student vote; and some innovative activities have been created to attract minority students (e.g., a dance team was established to provide an alternative to the already established drill team which historically had an all-Anglo membership).

- Use of the SLB to take students (minorities) home after participating in after-school activities.

- Utilization of individual and group counseling by the principal to emphasize the importance of meeting the needs of minority group students.

- Staff development activities:

  - Various training programs and workshops provided by AISD to address the needs of culturally different students.

  - In the past, staff training in consultation techniques has been utilized.

  - Extensive inservice training, through the years, in the form of small group discussions concerning peer counseling, peer tutoring, and retreat activities.

- Parental Involvement has been fostered by the following:

  - The PTA has recruited parent volunteers to work in the school offices, to grade papers, to telephone absentees, and to deliver class lectures.

  - A student/parent breakfast was held to allow students, parents, and faculty to become acquainted.

  - Telephone committees were organized to contact minority students' parents and to urge them to participate in school activities.

- Curriculum developments which addressed multiethnicity:

  - The principal worked with teachers on an individual basis to obtain multicultural materials for classroom use.

  - Ethnic literature was taught in one classroom by focusing upon the writing of minority authors, showing movies and TV programs dealing with minority group issues and analyzing them through group discussions, giving extra-credit and extra-class assignments focusing upon the literary works of minority authors.

  - Special activities were conducted in observance of Black History Month, Cinco de Mayo, etc.

- A media project entitled "Thumbprints" was developed with the purpose of encouraging minority students to write creatively. The compositions were published for school distribution.

- Techniques mentioned as particular to individual teachers

included:

- Some teachers conducted group discussions on topics such as busing and prejudice. One interviewee utilized a technique designed to illustrate latent prejudices by presenting different parts of an identical speech to a class but attributing them to various different political leaders (e.g., Malcolm X, John Kennedy). A discussion followed on misinterpretations which often result from the students' reactions to the speaker's identity rather than to the speech's content.

- One foreign languages class addressed cultural differences indirectly by conducting skits which increased class interaction and highlighted the uniqueness of different cultures.

- Another interviewee utilized various audiovisual aids to catalyze discussions of cultural differences.

- The Fader method was used in one classroom to foster interethnic friendships. Students were broken into four member support teams with each member of the team responsible for the other members' participation in class projects and completing group assignments. The teams were organized so that all ethnic groups and both sexes are represented.

As determined from the interviewees, strategies specific to desegregation concerns (e.g., crisis intervention techniques and utilization of Central Office programs) continued to be operant at Austin High. However, an emergent focus is now being placed upon innovations concerned with interracial relations in the school in general and developing further strategies to improve cultural awareness and to increase total involvement in all school activities by all students. It was reported in the interviews that the principal had made a verbal commitment to meet the needs of each student in the school with a particular emphasis upon the academic and social needs of minority students. While no formal requirement existed to motivate teachers to modify curriculum and teaching styles to accommodate cultural differences among students, full support was given any efforts toward reaching these ends by the school administration.

The general feeling expressed by the interviewees was that a great

deal of progress has been made in creating an atmosphere free from tension due to racial conflict, although rivalries between sub-cultural groups (e.g., "kickers" vs. the "hippies") still exist. The main impetus for Austin High's progress toward integration appears to be the elicitation and utilization of student input in many of the school decision-making procedures. Furthermore, student, faculty and parent camaraderie has been improved by a series of activities geared to increase interaction and cooperation among all individuals involved with the school.

Some concerns were expressed in the interviews for same-race clustering and rivalries between differing SES groups of students, as well as a lack of sensitivity to cultural differences and an absence of interest in positive human relations among some staff. However, implicit in the school motto and the other desegregation strategies mentioned, was an ongoing concerted effort to establish a healthy community atmosphere at Austin High through active involvement and open communication of all individuals involved.

Reagan

At the time of the 1971 court order, Reagan High School, in Northeast Austin, had a fairly well desegregated enrollment and staff (see map of ethnic movement accompanying population growth at end of Central Office narrative, p. 47). In addition, the previous year the principal and assistant principal, who were to head the administration at Reagan during the early years of desegregation, had been assigned to Reagan and had begun to establish their policies at the school and generate support for them. These two circumstances are credited with having eased the desegregation process at Reagan.

Presently, of the 1,740 students, 61% are Anglo, 28% are Black, and

11% are Mexican American. Almost 75% of the Black and almost 90% of the Mexican-American students reside in the Reagan attendance zone. The staff continues to show representation by members of both minority groups. Four staff members, from various professional levels, were interviewed by three members of the WIEDS team (see Summary Chart, p. 110). Due to equipment malfunction, one of these interviews did not record properly and has been deleted from this discussion.

With the 1971 court order, Reagan received more teachers and students, primarily Blacks, and, according to one interviewee, became "too crowded." The crowded conditions, compounded with forced busing, provided some students with an opportunity to "exert their energies negatively," according to one interviewee. Many reassigned teachers were dissatisfied and felt threatened, i.e., one interviewee noted that they only approached students in classroom situations. Tension and violence characterized the early years of desegregation at Reagan.

At the time of court-ordered desegregation, all of the high school students in Northeast Austin went to Reagan. There was a "sense of total community" as one interviewee put it. With the construction of Lyndon Baines Johnson High School in 1974, the northeast high school community was split. This split, coupled with the trend toward natural integration in the community, has resulted in a reduction in the number of students that need to be bused which, in turn, has resulted in increased participation in activities by minorities.

Strategies stated or implied as successful in dealing with the problems of desegregation included:

- A need for <u>adequate planning</u> was implied by one interviewee who stated that there was not enough time to implement desegregation strategies between the court-order and the opening

of school in 1971, despite the staff's spirit and willingness to do so.

- Various crisis intervention tactics were employed during the initial stages of desegregation:

  - Identification of troublemakers was conducted by students and teachers, thereby channeling such individuals into particular types of assistance.

  - The conference approach was used to confront agitators in a polite, proper, and efficient manner, on a one-to-one basis rather than in front of their peers. Students were thus given an opportunity to be heard, and the staff got a better feeling of what problems needed to be addressed.

  - The school operated under "business as usual" conditions as much as possible. Every attempt was made not to "veer off schedule" in order to prevent the agitators from controlling the staff, according to one interviewee.

  - The administration solicited the cooperation of the parents, the students, the counseling office, and the teachers. One interviewee stated that if it were impossible to relate to a student, then an attempt was made to relate to the student's parents.

  - Another tactic taken when it seemed impossible to relate to a student was to seek a counselor of the same race as the student.

  - When there were many students involved in disruptive activities, and there was not enough time for conferring and following the usual suspension procedures, parents were asked to keep their kids home "pending further investigation." This was sometimes done for 6 to 12 students at a time, and allowed the students, parents, and school to share responsibility for the problem.

  - Three hall monitors tried to prevent racial situations from developing into major conflicts. One interviewee stated that because the monitors were all young, the students could relate to them.

- A consistent and supportive administration which developed a plan of action which was adhered to with all individuals was mentioned by one interviewee as aiding desegregation. A school-wide discipline policy that stipulated what the students could not do rather than what they could do was articulated. Opinions of students, teachers, and parents are encouraged to be heard.

- Use of Central Office programs:

- The SRSDP has provided for a Reading Resource Specialist to assist students reading below grade level.

- The SLB has provided transportation to enable bused students to participate in after-school activities.

- The SCLRP provided crisis intervention during the early years and continues to sponsor the active human relations program which includes Partners Club, the Student Human Relations Committee (an active source of student input on policies and procedures, according to one interviewee), retreats, and the ESAA advisory board.

- In-school suspension (ISS), similar to an OCSC, has been available, but two interviewees stated that many teachers try to resolve their own discipline problems and use the ISS only as a last resort.

- Various staff development activities included:

  - An early-years inservice training on racist terminology to be avoided by staff.

  - Human relations inservice workshops.

  - Ongoing inservice has been available in the form of magazines and library materials.

- Parental involvement has been fostered through:

  - Students' progress reports were mailed to parents periodically, requesting parent conferences if desired.

  - Some teachers wrote letters to parents in an attempt to get students to sign up for special classes.

  - Sometimes teachers placed calls to parents of students who had problems with discipline or school work.

- The curriculum content has undergone "limited changes" to address multiethnicity, such as:

  - Vocational programs which affected many minorities.

  - Audiovisual materials which enhanced regular classroom instruction.

- Social activities such as field trips promoted interaction among students.

- Strategies mentioned as particular to individual teachers included:

- The teacher who advocated the idea that "all kids are purple" to avoid cultural stereotyping. Another interviewee mentioned an avoidance of identifying cultural differences in favor of an attempt to instill in students an awareness of how individuals may share some of the same experiences.

- Seating arrangements were often considered in the classroom. One interviewee mentioned a teacher who arranges seating so as to mix ethnic groups at the beginning of a course, but allows them to choose their own seats later on. Another effective strategy mentioned was the teacher letting the students sit anywhere with the stipulation that they not totally group by race or sex.

- Students in special programs have been brought into classrooms to demonstrate their skills in an attempt to generate more interest in the programs.

- One interviewee told of a teacher who tried to treat fairly every student in class, in the manner in which the teacher would want to, in turn, be treated.

- Clearly stating the rules and expectations on the first day of class, and consistently adhering to them throughout the year, was mentioned as one teacher's strategy.

- One interviewee thought that it was important to give students the opportunity to express themselves, and to let them know why a mistake was considered a mistake.

Regarding current interethnic relationships at Reagan, one interviewee stated that students of different ethnic groups respond differently to common human dilemmas. This person also said that most students get along well with other-race students, but that when open seating or free choice in grouping for projects was offered, members of the same ethnic group often gravitated to one another. However, in special programs, such as band, chorus, athletics, and drama, "there's a tremendous blend of groups." According to one interviewee, the reason for this was the fact that students involved in special programs were aware of community and national problems. It was stated that there were still conflicts in classes that could be considered racial, not in the

sense that they were caused by racial differences, but in that a student might say something to an other-race adversary which would not be said if the adversary were same-race. It was also noted that the minorities often become the majority in human relations activities at Reagan.

As for the parents of Reagan students, they were mainly concerned about what the teachers were teaching, but one interviewee reported more difficulty in contacting Black parents than Anglo parents. One person stated that activities at Reagan were dictated by the needs of the people in the community; top priorities were given to outstanding athletics and band and choral programs, in addition to academics.

The current trend at Reagan was to address the rights of individuals. This was seen as a progression beyond integration by one interviewee. The general evaluation of Reagan's success in matters related to desegregation was considered positive by all interviewees. Since 1972, the situation has improved because of "the vast number of good and decent people representing both sides, the majority and the minority," according to one source. Another commented, "I don't consider Reagan as merely being integrated. I think that it is real advanced," as measured by student involvement, and teacher concern.

SUMMARY CHART OF DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL INTERVIEWS

	Interviewee											
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L[6]
Race[1]	A	B	SS	B	A	B	A	SS	A	SS	B	A
Sex	F	M	M	M	F	M	F	F	F	F	M	F
Age	40s	40s	50s	30s	50s	50s	30s	30s	20s	20s	50s	50s
Position[2]	P	P	P	CA	C	T	T	T	T	T	T	T
Experience[3]												
Years in present position	3	5	2	1/2	5	6	2	X	2	4	8	
Years in AISD	26	X	10	14	19	X	2	X	2	5	25	
Years in schools	26	X	13	X	19	X	5	7	2	5	28	
Interviewer[4]	AF4	BM1 AF4	AF4	AF2	AM2	AF2	BM2	BM2	BM2	AM2	BM2	
Focus of desegregation concern[5]	5	3	1	2	2	3	3	3	1	3	1	

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[1] A=Anglo, B=Black, SS=Spanish Surname

[2] P=Principal, CA=Campus Administrator, C=Counselor, T=Teacher

[3] X=Not addressed in interview

[4] AF2=Anglo female (29 years old), AF4=Anglo female (30 years old), AM2=Anglo male (29 years old), BM1= Black male (44 years old), BM2=Black male (29 years old)

[5] 1=Anglo/Black only, 2=Anglo/Black primarily, 3=Anglo/Black/Mexican-American, 4=Anglo/Mexican-American, 5=Not specified

[6] Information from this interview was not reported due to equipment malfunction.

SUMMARY CHART:
STRATEGIES FOR HIGH SCHOOLS*

	Stage I ...	Stage II ...	Stage III ...
Administrative/Governance	Planning measures to minimize conflict	Developing a school-wide planning committee	Developing a student/faculty planning committee
	Having a consistent and supportive administration		
		Developing a steering committee of students	
		Instituting a minority representation by-law (e.g., cheerleading squad)	
	Addressing parent human relations		
	Using crisis intervention strategies (e.g., identifying troublemakers, hiring hall monitors)		
		Encouraging the hearing of students, teachers, and parents	
		Developing a human relations program (including Student and Faculty Human Relations Committees, ESAA advisory board)	
		Instituting curriculum changes (including GED, TAME, ICT, DE, HECE, VOE, CVAE, Executive Management, Minorities in Mainstreaming)	
		Utilizing the SLS	
Staff Development	Presenting staff workshops on desegregation	Presenting human relations workshops	
	Providing inservice training on racist terminology	Providing inservice training on multicultural curricula	
		Coordinating of student/faculty retreats by SCLRP	
		Providing magazines and library materials	
Teaching/Learning	Using open classrooms		
	Providing team teaching		
	Seating kids so as to mix them racially	Allowing free seating	
		Providing Black history and Cinco de Mayo activities	
		Teaching ethnic literature	
		Using special media techniques to foster cultural awareness	
	Avoiding cultural stereotyping		
		Providing a reading specialist by SESDP	
		Providing vocational programs	
	Counseling individuals and groups by the principal		
	Instituting a school-wide discipline policy	Clarifying rules and expectations in classroom	
	Partners Club	Afro-American Club	
		Coordinating of extracurricular activities (including use of the Hare System) by SAP	
		Providing of activities by the PTA to increase minority participation in extracurricular activities	
		Going on field trips	
	Contacting parents by letters, calls, and progress reports		
		Using parents as tutors, telephone callers, and lecturers	

* Stages represent a sequencing of strategies in two senses: on the one hand, the sequence covers developments over a span of years starting with the first year of desegregation; on the other hand, each school year beginning in September sees a replication of initial desegregation strategies and progresses through later strategies. Stage I strategies attempt to mix students of different ethnic groups and deal with short-run problems resulting from adjustment. Stage II strategies attempt to reintegrate students under a guiding ideology of cultural pluralism. Stage III identifies emergent trends or problems as yet unsolved.

Conclusions

In regard to the interviews conducted at the nine schools (three sixth grade centers, three junior highs, and three senior highs), the following statements are made:

- The number and percent of strategies identified by category were as follows:
  1. Teaching/Learning : 57 - 53%
  2. Administrative/Governance : 31 - 29%
  3. Staff Development : 20 - 18%
- Within the teaching/learning category, the following areas of emphasis were identified most often by the interviewees:
  1. Teacher teaming techniques
  2. Counseling techniques
  3. Parent involvement techniques
  4. Remedial instruction techniques
- Within the administrative/governance category, the following areas of emphasis were identified most often by the interviewees:
  1. Student/staff assignment techniques
  2. Employment of resource/support personnel
  3. Establishment of committees (student/faculty)
  4. Crisis intervention techniques
  5. Establishment of new policies
- Within the staff development category, the following areas of emphasis were identified most often by the interviewees:
  1. Human relations training
  2. Multicultural curricula training

Based on the schools represented in the WIEDS interviews, Austin ISD

administrators and teachers have learned to accept and, to a degree, value ethnic diversity among the students and are attempting to provide social and instructional opportunities for students to acquire this acceptance and value of others.